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The Life of George Berkeley
Bishop of Cloyne



GEORGE BERKELEY IN EARLY MANHOOD
from a portrait in the possession of G. F.-H. Berkeley, Esq
(*Appendix IV, No. 1*)

The Life of George Berkeley

Bishop of Cloyne

by

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PREFACE

DR. JOHNSON wished to write a *Life* of Berkeley, and sought permission to do so from the family. Permission was refused, and one hardly knows whether to be glad or sorry. A scrutiny of Berkeley's colourful career and noble character and aims by that powerful mind might have yielded an invaluable and authoritative verdict ; but, on the other hand, if Johnson's stone-kicking "refutation" of immaterialism for Boswell's benefit represented a serious and settled judgment on Berkeley's philosophy, it is well that Johnson's *Life of Berkeley* was not written.

In point of fact Johnson could not have written a definitive *Life* ; for as my Introduction shows, the material required for a full and critical study of the man has accumulated gradually, and was not available in early days. Joseph Stock had access to family information, and he laid the foundations upon which later biographers have built, but his own *Life* was too slender and brief. A. C. Fraser had more success. His *Life and Letters* is a mine for biographers and a quarry of rough-hewn material ; but it is not a work of art, and is hardly even a finished product. When it was written the Percival letters had not come to light, and Fraser's portrait of Berkeley lacks depth and tone, and in some features is untrue.

B. Rand's *Berkeley and Percival* was a source-contribution of first importance. Messrs. Hone and Rossi in their *Bishop Berkeley*, and Professor J. Wild in his *George Berkeley*, made full use of it, and they have greatly improved on Fraser's work. Both those books, however, blend the story of the life with a study of the thought, and I am not sure that those two things mix well. It is an arguable point. I, at any rate, have had to keep them separate. Living where Berkeley lived for years, teaching where he taught, incorporate in the one academic *societas* with him and Stock, I have long had a peculiar interest in his life, and when, gleaning after Fraser and Rand, I found new biographical material, including more than forty of Berkeley's letters, I decided to attempt a *separate Life*. My views on the philosophy can be found elsewhere. Any comment that I make here on Berkeley's thought is incidental

and strictly subordinate to the biographical interest, and is entirely free from technical discussion.

The approaching bi-centenary of his death (1753) is not likely to pass unnoticed on either side of the Atlantic. Men will want to hear what manner of man he was and what he did. Some will be surprised to find a philosopher's life so full of human interest and of far-sighted action on a lofty plane. "Westward the course of empire takes its way." His prophetic words grip the mind. How did he know? For years men have watched it coming, and now it has come. And will the rest of the oracle come true, too?

The complete (it is hoped) edition of Berkeley's letters that Professor Jessop and I are preparing is not yet available, and accordingly in the footnotes here I give the references to the existing collections and my own scattered publications.

The extent of my debt to Professor Fraser and Professor Rand is obvious from my footnotes. I have to thank Mr. J. M. Hone for the stimulus of his book and for several friendly letters discussing detail. On Swift I have had the advice of the present Dean of St. Patrick's, Very Rev. D. F. R. Wilson. On Berkeley's therapy Dr. T. P. C. Kirkpatrick has been of the greatest assistance to me. About Cloyne and ecclesiastical matters in the south of Ireland I consulted the present Dean of Cloyne, Very Rev. H. F. Berry, and the late Dr. C. A. Webster, Dean of Ross. Mr. G. F.-H. Berkeley of Hanwell Castle, Banbury, has kindly allowed me to reproduce as frontispiece his portrait of his distinguished ancestor, and the episcopal seal, which is shown at page 197. Mr. T. U. Sadleir and Mr. Ashley Powell, have advised me on genealogical matters.

Professor D. E. W. Wormell has read the American chapters for me. Others who have helped me are the Provost, Professor H. M. O. White, Dr. J. S. Starkey (Seumas O'Sullivan), Dr. Constantia Maxwell, Dr. V. M. Synge, Dr. R. B. McDowell, and Dr. E. Tomacelli. Professor T. E. Jessop has advised on points connected with the making of the book, and has read the proofs. Professor John Wild of Harvard kindly sent me a copy of his book, mentioned above, and the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury were so good as to lend me their copy of Monck Berkeley's *Poems*.

The learned societies of Rhode Island and the neighbourhood have been most kind to me. They have answered my questions, facilitated my researches, and supplied me with rare books and

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pamphlets. When I visited Rhode Island in 1933 I received many courtesies from Mr. W. Davis Miller, President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, from Mr. Chapin, and from Mrs. Weeden and Mrs. Ball, representing the National Society of the Colonial Dames. I had communications from them subsequently, as also from Mr. Norman M. Isham of Wickford, R.I., and from the President of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport.

A. A. LUCE

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN
January 1947

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BERKELEY'S WRITINGS

<i>PC</i>	<i>Philosophical Commentaries (Commentaries)</i>
<i>Princ.</i>	<i>A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge</i>
<i>Pass. Obed.</i>	<i>Passive Obedience . . .</i>
<i>Dials. (Three Dials.)</i>	<i>Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous</i>
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alciphron : or the Minute Philosopher</i>

(My references are to Berkeley's section numbers, except in the case of the *Three Dialogues*, which has none. In references to the *Philosophical Commentaries* I give, as required, either the entry numbers or the page numbers of my *editio diplomatica*, 1944)

OTHER AUTHORS

<i>LL</i>	A. C. Fraser, <i>Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D.D.</i> (1871)
<i>B&P</i>	B. Rand, <i>Berkeley and Percival</i> (1914)
Brady, Records	W. M. Brady, <i>Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross</i> (1863)
<i>Proc.R.I.Acad.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
Stock (Stock's <i>Life</i>)	<i>An account of the life of George Berkeley . . .</i> (as prefixed to the 1784 edition of the Works)

ILLUSTRATIONS

George Berkeley in early manhood	<i>Frontispiece</i>
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INTRODUCTION

EARLY MEMOIRS OF BERKELEY THE PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF HIS WORKS AND COLLECTIONS OF HIS LETTERS¹

IN his wide and varied correspondence Berkeley is the man of affairs, sane, shrewd, efficient. On the stage and in popular tradition he is an eccentric, an oddity, and people smile at the mention of his name. Even well-informed biographies convey the impression that he was an amiable fool, with "every virtue under heaven," save commonsense. Of course a philosopher who denies the existence of matter lays himself open to misconstruction, but the general misconception of Berkeley's personality traces to an accident of letters rather than to his immaterialism, as the following study will show.

Berkeley died in January 1753, and his family and friends, as happens when great men die, at first thought his name and fame secure, and they seem to have taken no steps about a Memoir or a Life for ten or fifteen years. Their inaction gave Grub Street² (or that hack-work journalism for which the name stands) a long start. In consequence, the public saw the caricature of Berkeley before the portrait, and the caricature "caught on." How like a philosopher, men said. Even when biographers were supplied with an authentic portrait of the real man, they were not content; their public expected something different, and so they framed the portrait in legend and draped it with those foolish tales, traditionally associated with the name of Berkeley.

In support of these statements I propose to deal *serialim* with the accounts (1) in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (2) in the *British Plutarch*, (3) in the *Annual Register*, (4) in the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, (5) in Stock's *Life* in its various forms, (6) in the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, (7) furnished by

¹ In large part reproduced, by permission of the editor, from my article "Early Memoirs and Lives of Bishop Berkeley," *Hermathena*, No. lxviii; see also my "Some unpublished Berkeley Letters . . ." *Proc.R.I.Acad.* vol. xli., c. 4, pp. 141-43. ² For the mention of "a Grubstreet pamphlet," see below, p. 3n.

Mrs. Anne Berkeley and Mrs. Eliza Berkeley, (8) in the *General Biographical Dictionary*.

These Memoirs and Lives and records are not all of equal importance, nor are they independent of one another. Two strains can be detected in them—journalism, largely imaginative, and family information. The former strain has yielded the pseudo-Berkeley, the Berkeley of fiction, found in the *British Plutarch* and the *Annual Register*; the latter strain is represented in Stock's *Life* and the dependent group of biographies, which, based on information furnished by the family, depict with varying degrees of accuracy, fullness, and purity the historic Berkeley, the Berkeley of fact.

(1) The account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹ calls for little comment. It was fair, friendly, and commonplace; coming out a week or two after the Bishop's death, it was little more than an obituary, a one-column sketch of some public aspects of his career, making no serious mistakes, but deficient in information. It gives no place or date of birth, or particulars about his family. Of his books, it names only the *Alciphron*; it mentions his account of the island of Inarime as extant among Pope's letters; it records his encouragement of local industry at Cloyne, his refusal of Lord Chesterfield's offer of a better bishopric, his supposed intention of passing three years at Oxford, and his alleged attempt to exchange his bishopric for a canonry at Christ Church.

(2) Nine years later there appeared in the *British Plutarch*,² *The Life of George Berkely* [*sic*]. The misspelling of the name is an index of the ignorance here displayed. The "Life" is a slight, chatty, pretentious, and irresponsible account without any attempt at documentation. Its earlier pages in particular make Berkeley appear ridiculous—in fact, they state that he was "ridiculous" in his younger days. Here almost certainly is the source of the general misconception of the man, the *fons et origo mali*. This "Life" set the headline which subsequent biographies followed. It opens very confidently with the untrue statement that he was the son of a clergyman in Ireland, and not content with making the mistake, dresses it out, recounting along conventional lines how the poor, pious, learned parson taught his clever son all he himself knew, and then pinched and scraped to send him on to College. Much of the remainder is in a similar vein. Berkeley is the absent-minded philosopher walking about the College square, and he runs his nose against a post, and a passing sophister

¹ January 1753, vol. xxiii, p. 52.

² 1762, vol. xii, pp. 160-71.



DYSART CASTLE, THOMASTOWN

Beikeley's early home. The remains of a dwelling-house can be seen, right foreground



KILKENNY COLLEGE



MRS. ELIZA BERKELEY

George Berkeley's daughter-in-law. From the Canterbury Cathedral copy of
her *Poems by the late George Monck Berkeley*

exclaims, "Never mind it, Doctor, there's no matter in it." The Memoir contains at least three definite errors in fact which can be easily refuted. One has been already mentioned, and as well there are the statements that he received a great part of his education at Oxford, and that the ship on which he sailed for America was cast away. Its picture of Berkeley in his student days is absurd; he is a recluse and the butt of college, and is by some regarded as "the greatest dunce in the whole university"; here we have the well-known, but baseless, tale, told with gusto, of him and his chum, Contarini, agreeing to hang one another for a while in turn that they might experience the sensations of the dying malefactor.¹

The Memoir contains some inept remarks upon Berkeley's writings and his views. It says, for instance, that in later life Berkeley examined his *De Motu* [*sic*] . . . and "found much to be reprehended, and much to be added, and freely told his friends his opinion." In point of fact, Berkeley reprinted his *De Motu* in the *Miscellany* without alteration six months before his death, and in the light of that fact we can judge the worth of the Memoir's statement that at last Berkeley rejected metaphysics and turned to "more beneficial studies, to politics and medicine."

The Memoir contains a few interesting and possibly true statements which are not found elsewhere; but as a whole it lies under suspicion; it looks like a piece of ignorant hack-work without a vestige of authority. Even if it contain some truth of fact, its general picture is a caricature of the man. Occasionally it shows some serious appreciation of its subject; but it opens on the note of banter, and that note prevails throughout. That a bantering record of this great man and great mind should have been the first to appear and should have set the tone for later studies is a matter for keen regret.

(3) Unfortunately, too, in the following year this caricature received increased publicity and an access of authority; for the article was reproduced as a Memoir of Berkeley in the *Annual Register*,² an influential publication, then edited by Edmund Burke, which found its way into every gentleman's library. The *Register* makes a few minor additions and stylistic changes, and omits some of the more verbose sections, but in the main it takes over *verbatim* from the *British Plutarch*.

¹ Four years later (*Biog. Brit.* art. "Berkeley," *n*) this tale was described as "The idle story which has crept into the *Annual Register* for the year 1763 from a Grubstreet pamphlet, published a few years ago . . . a pure catch-penny phantom without the least foundation." ² 1763, *Characters*, pp. 2-5.

Distressed by the misrepresentation, the Bishop's relatives and friends¹ took steps to put out a true account and vindicate his memory. Dr. Robert Berkeley, younger brother of the Bishop, ex-fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Rector of Midleton near Cloyne, who had been on close terms with his elder brother for years, drew up an account of the Bishop and communicated it to Joseph Stock,² a young fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who in the Introduction to his *An Account of the Life of George Berkeley* . . . (1776) claims to have had particular acquaintance with the family and friends of the Bishop.

(4) Thus we come to the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica* (1766, Supplement), the first attempt (so far as I know) at a documented Life. The author is not known; but whoever wrote it had access to some family information and probably to the record drawn up by Robert Berkeley. Therefore I suggest, without being able to prove the point, that Stock was the author of the article, or at least contributed its substance. Chalmers in 1812³ says that Robert Berkeley's account "was first inserted in the Biog. Britannica, and many mistakes pointed out, and additions made to it in a subsequent volume of that work." Almost certainly (though his words are not absolutely decisive) he is speaking exclusively of the second edition (1780, vol. ii), with its *Corrigenda and Addenda* in vol. iii. It looks to me as if Chalmers had not carefully considered the account in the first edition; had he collated the two editions, as I have done, his critical mind must have seen the continuity or connection underlying the striking divergencies; and then he would have concluded, as I venture to conclude, that since Stock, using Robert Berkeley's material, is the admitted author of the article in the 1780 edition, the article in the 1766 edition must have been Stock's, too, in essentials.

It is true that this theory requires one to hold that Stock was criticizing incidentally his own earlier work when in his Introduction to his octavo *Life* of 1776 he writes: "In more than twenty years which have elapsed since the death of Bishop Berkeley, no account of him hath yet been offered to the public

¹ From the Preface to *Monck Berkeley's Poems*, p. ccccx, we learn that in the nineties Canon George Berkeley used to say of every *Life* yet published "they are lamentably imperfect," and that Monck Berkeley used to regret that his father had not allowed Dr. Johnson to write the Bishop's *Life*; see below p. 183. ² Stock entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1756 at the age of 16, graduated B.A. in 1761, and was elected fellow in 1763. He became Bishop of Killala (1798) and of Waterford and Lismore (1810); he died in 1813. ³ see below, p. 14.

that was not either void of truth, or extremely inaccurate and defective"; but an honest workman is always ready to be severe on his own bad work, and that is what Stock seems to me to be doing here. He does not throw it overboard; for he distinguishes accounts "void of truth," like that of the *British Plutarch* (in large part) from those like his own, which are "inaccurate and defective"; and he is careful to add that he is not censuring "such as wrote from what information they could collect, and probably thought any account, however imperfect, of so extraordinary a person better than none." I take those words to be an apology for his article of 1766 without an open admission of authorship.

The opening words of the *Biographia* article of 1766 are: "Berkeley (George) the learned and ingenious Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland was a native of that kingdom, and the son of William Berkeley of Thomastown in the County of Kilkenny." Those words are virtually identical with the opening of "Stock's *Life*" in all its various forms, and a note on the words says: "This, as well as a great part of the present article was communicated by a particular friend of the Bishop." The "friend" is probably his brother Robert. Stock could hardly be so described; for he was only thirteen years old when the Bishop died. There are other sentences and even paragraphs where the resemblance is so close that one has to say that either Stock wrote the 1766 article or borrowed from it without acknowledgment; for instance, the *Biographia* (1766) on the first mention of Esther Van Homrigh says, "whose name is no stranger to these memoirs"—words that are quite in place *there* amongst other articles on such men as Swift; but the identical words occur in Stock's separately published *Life* (p. 13) of 1776, where they make no sense, and Stock omits them in later reprints.

The article in the *Biographia* (1766) is indeed "extremely inaccurate and defective"; and if Stock had a hand in it, no wonder he was unwilling to advertise the fact. It gives the date of birth as 1679 (the date on the memorial tablet at Oxford) instead of 1685; it gives the place of birth as Queen's County instead of Kilkenny; it says nothing of the grandfather; it runs the two continental tours into one, and makes Berkeley retire to his Deanery on his return from America. Still, with all its mistakes and omissions, it was, in tone and substance, a great advance on previous accounts. It is serious and dignified, and gives in general a true picture of Berkeley's life and character. It has clearly tried to find the facts; for it quotes authorities

instead of drawing on hearsay and the imagination. It explicitly corrects two mistakes in the earlier Lives—that about his father already referred to, and the statement that he received education at Oxford. In correcting the latter mistake it shows a remarkably accurate knowledge, saying : “ he never was there but once before, in 1713, on a visit to Dr. Smallridge, with whom he staid three months.” These facts we to-day can check with the Percival correspondence, and they are correct except that the stay was for two months only. In two other points, this first edition of the *Biographia* is more correct than the second edition—points which prove that the writer of the article must have had access to family information. It says that just before Berkeley died he was commenting on 1 Corinthians xv : later on the widow told the world that she had been reading that passage to him ; but the second edition and “ Stock ” state that she had been reading from one of Sherlock’s sermons. Even more remarkable is the fact that the first edition gives the number of the children correctly as “ four sons and three daughters,” whereas “ Stock ” in all forms ignores those who died young and gives “ three sons and one daughter.” This could not be a case of mistake or ignorance ; whoever knew the full facts must have been in touch either with Robert Berkeley or the widow ; it is pretty certain that Stock himself knew the full facts, but decided in his later work not to mention the three children who died in infancy.¹

The article refers to Sir James Ware’s *History of Ireland* and Delany’s *Observations upon Lord Orrery’s Remarks on the Life of Dean Swift*. It contains some inadequate references to Berkeley’s writings, mostly in the notes, and it quotes some of Berkeley’s letters.

(5) Ten years later appeared the first separately published *Life*, viz. *An Account of the Life of George Berkeley D.D. late Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, with notes containing strictures upon his works* (London, 1776, 2/-). This is a small octavo volume, and it was published anonymously ; but there is no doubt that it was by Stock ; for it is virtually identical with the Memoir prefixed to the 1784 edition of the works in quarto, where the Advertisement states that it was drawn up by him. The Introduction remarks that the very celebrity of great men prevents the making of accurate records of their lives and it passes the judgment on the previous memoirs of Berkeley, quoted above (p. 4). The author claims

¹ The family might well have been rendered sensitive about the delicacy of the children by the heartless suggestion in the *British Plutarch* that the Bishop by dosing his children with tar-water had impaired their health.

"particular acquaintance with the family and friends" of the Bishop, and "knowledge of the truth of every fact he relates."

This "octavo Life" (as Chalmers calls it) is correct in the main, and Stock clearly took great pains with it; but there are small mistakes in it; for instance, the amount of the Bermuda grant is given as £10,000 instead of £20,000, and the date of Berkeley's appointment to Cloyne as 1733 instead of 1734. The passage on Vanessa's affairs did not give satisfaction, and it was rehandled later, and the extensive notes appended are not all reproduced in the later redactions. In 1777 there was a second edition, "with improvements," which was reprinted in vol. ii of the *Biographia Britannica* (1780). It was reissued in 1784 under the title *Memoirs of George Berkeley* . . . *The second edition*, with a collection of Berkeley's letters added, very shortly before the appearance of vol. iii of the *Biographia Britannica* (1784), which contains Mrs. Anne Berkeley's criticisms (see below, p. 8), where it is mentioned as "being the same with our article by Dr. Stock."

In this form, i.e. without the notes added by Kippis in 1780 and with no attention to the criticisms of Mrs. Anne Berkeley (which came out just too late to be noticed, unfortunately), the Memoir was prefixed to the quarto edition of the collected works of 1784. In this form it became known as "Stock's *Life*," and attained a commanding position, being prefixed also to the collected works of 1820, 1837, and 1843; it has been the backbone of all subsequent biographies.

(6) We come now to the second (Kippis) edition of the *Biographia Britannica*. Its article on Berkeley is in vol. ii (pp. 247-62), which appeared in 1780. It has the opening note: "Most of the following particulars of Bishop Berkeley's life were received from a brother of his Lordship's, yet living; and the whole article was communicated by a gentleman who is at this time (1778) one of the Fellows of Trinity-college, Dublin"; a note at the end determines the authorship still further in the words: "The above article, though it hath been separately printed, was drawn up by the ingenious writer of it, for the purpose of being inserted in our work. We have given it, therefore, without alteration, and shall here subjoin a few additional facts and observations."

As to the *Life* itself little or nothing remains to be said; for it is virtually identical with Stock's "octavo Life," already described, with the minor corrections and changes referred to above. The long note appended to it, however, calls for some remarks. Its "additional facts and observations" include some

of the foolish stories from the *British Plutarch* and the *Annual Register*. It is much to be regretted that these should have been repeated ; evidently the traditional Berkeley was by this time enshrined in the public mind, and the editor felt bound to keep up the tradition, and to repeat all that had ever appeared in print about him. The other parts of the note contain things of value. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1776, is cited in proof that Berkeley never went as Chaplain to the Duke of Grafton. We have here Chandler's account of the gifts to Yale, Hoadly's criticism of the *Alciphron*, Dr. Maty's account of Lord Chesterfield's offer of the bishopric of Clogher, Atterbury's exclamation on meeting Berkeley (Duncombe's *Letters by several eminent persons deceased*, vol. [not given] pp. 106-7), Dr. Blackwell's interesting, because first-hand, report on Berkeley's thirst for practical knowledge (*Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, vol. ii, pp. 277-78), Hume and Beattie on Berkeley's philosophy, particulars of some of Berkeley's minor works communicated by a "Mr. Reed" (could this be Dr. Thos. Reid, the philosopher?), and a long discussion of the *Adventures of Signor Gaudenzio di Lucca*, often, but erroneously, attributed to Berkeley.

The note aims at comprehensiveness, and is evidence that the passage of the years had brought no diminution in the general interest in Berkeley, and that the study of his life proper was broadening out into a study of his thought and his writings.

(7) The publication of Stock's *Life* in the *Biographia* brought a very important person into the field, Mrs. Anne Berkeley, the Bishop's widow. She communicated criticisms of it through Mr. J. Duncombe, and these were published in vol. iii (1784) of the *Biographia* under *Corrigenda and Addenda*. She says that she was reading Chapter xv of 1 Corinthians to him when he passed away ; she denies that he was addicted to reading romances, and she defends his rejection of matter ; she makes statements on the Vanessa poem and letters, and tells the inner story of the passage through Parliament of the Bermuda scheme ; she speaks of her husband's knowledge of architecture, and of the plans he drew out for the Bermuda settlement ; she fills in the account of the Rhode Island sojourn, describes his attitude to Lord Chesterfield's offer, and supplies other details about the Bishop's life and thought.

The widow's criticism of Stock's *Life* may be taken as an indirect confirmation of it ; for since so able a critic found so little to add or take away, we may have confidence in its general

accuracy and adequacy ; but, of course, it needs to be supplemented by reference to the many letters and other relevant documents which have come to light since those days.

Mrs. Eliza Berkeley's contribution is in her Preface to *Poems by the late George Monck Berkeley Esq. LL.B., F.S.S.A.*¹ This is a quarto volume printed in London in 1797, and its Preface by the editor, mother of the poet, is nearly four times as long as the rest of the book. The poems occupy 178 pages, and the editor's Preface along with her Postscript, Farewell Epistle, Apology, and Postscript to the poems, occupies some 650 pages. Mrs. Berkeley was wife (widow at the time of publication) of the Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, Canon of Canterbury, second son of the Bishop. She was the elder daughter of the Rev. Henry Frinsham, and granddaughter of F. Cherry of Shottesbrook House, Berks. Someone who knew her personally, perhaps Chalmers himself, wrote of her : " She was unquestionably a lady of considerable talents, but her fancy was exuberant, and her petty resentments were magnified. . . . In conversation, as in writing, she was extremely entertaining, except to those who wished also to entertain. . . . She had, however, a very warm friendly heart, amidst all her oddities, and her numerous contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine* contain no small portion of entertainment and information." ²

Her son Monck, the apple of her eye, author of *Literary Relics* (1789), died in 1793 ; she had already lost her other son, and her husband died in 1794-5. These bereavements go far to explain her garrulity. She is a lonely old lady living in the past. She claims to have had a good memory, and at times she writes with point and vigour.³ She lauds her titled friends, lashes her enemies, titled and untitled, attacks various customs of the day, and, incidentally, gives vivid pictures of the eighteenth-century life, of society manners and habits, conversation and outlook in cathedral towns. She is aware of her own literary deficiencies, complaining that she has no one to help her in preparing " these undigested immethodical pages " (p. cclxiii). She speaks of " this frightfully long Preface " (p. dcxxx), owning up to *la fluxe de plume*,

¹ I am indebted to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral for the loan of their copy of this rare work. I have made a careful study of the book in my attempt to determine its value as a source. ² *The General Biographical Dictionary*, 1812, vol. v, art. " George Berkeley fils." ³ She reads the Bible to her maid (to the benefit of both parties, she hopes) while her hair is being dressed and " the frizzing, etc. is performing " ; and, careful soul, she reads in " an old thumb'd Bible ; for the powder and pomatum would spoil a good one " (p. cccclxxv).

but pleading that it is not necessary to read the whole of every book (p. cxliv).

The size of the Preface and its rambling character inevitably arouse suspicion, but it ought not to be discredited *in toto*. I began to read it with a strong prejudice against it, but I changed my views as I read on. I would reject here and there, allow discount often, but on the whole I would accept what she says, especially when she makes plain, unvarnished statements where her little foibles have no scope. Her naïveté is in her favour. She was in a position to get accurate information about her father-in-law, and sufficiently well trained to convey it. When she is not sure, she says so, and sometimes she puts a blank for a doubtful name of place or person.

She could hardly have known the Bishop, but she was proud of him, and extremely interested in his memory. Her statements about him trace, for the most part, to her husband and her mother-in-law. She says (p. ccccx): "There are a thousand very curious, very diverting, some very ludicrous, anecdotes of that great and good prelate that Dr. Berkeley [her husband] and his Mother used to relate of the great Bishop." She knew the Lives that had appeared, and records that her husband had said of them all, "they are lamentably imperfect," and that her son used to regret that his father had refused to allow Dr. Johnson to write the Life.¹ At times she appears to be trying in an unsystematic way to supplement previous accounts, as when she says that she does not remember reading in any of the Lives that the Bishop refused to inclose the great common at Cloyne (p. ccccxvii). She had interests in Ireland; her money was invested there, and she was in touch with the Inchiquins, Lumleys, and other families from the neighbourhood of Cloyne. She does not formally document her statements, but she fairly often indicates her sources of information. Of Swift she heard from Delany, her husband's close friend; of the Rhode Island days she heard from her mother-in-law, who was there, and from Dr. Samuel Johnson, son of the Bishop's great friend in America, who often "sent over two immense double-barrels of fine American New-town pippins." She had frequently been told by Richard Dalton, Berkeley's "learned agreeable friend," that Sir John James told Bishop Benson that he had left his fortune to Berkeley, and that on hearing of it from Benson Berkeley wrote back "a thundering letter," saying: "Do you tell James I will not have his fortune.

¹ see below, p. 183.

Bid him leave it to his relations. I won't have it." ¹ She is aware of the importance of documents, and says that her husband had "vast numbers" of Lord Berkeley (of Stratton)'s letters to the Bishop, and that she herself had papers of the Bishop's to inspect, "several stone weight, which were kept in an old chest." ²

I noticed a few mistakes in her statements, but not many. She gives the year of Berkeley's taking up residence at Cloyne as 1735 instead of 1734, ³ and I think she confuses Peter Browne with Jemmett Browne, both bishops of Cork (p. cccxcix). On the other hand, she makes many statements of which the accuracy can be proved; for instance, she says that her husband when a student at Christ Church had lived expensively in the Bishop's lifetime (her £600 in 4 months is not incredible, when the horses and grooms are taken into account, p. ccxxxvii). This statement is confirmed by the account books of the College, which show that Berkeley's outlay was far more than that of his contemporaries.

Here is another curious little piece of evidence which confirms her general accuracy. Her Preface (p. ccxiv) says that Berkeley had a magnificent gold medal presented to him by the late King when Prince of Wales. It is a perfectly true statement, though at first sight it looks improbable. The medal was presented to Berkeley at the time when the Prince accepted the office of Chancellor of Dublin University, and Judge Wainwright refers to it as proof of Berkeley's loyalty and distinction in an important letter to Mrs. Clayton. ⁴

The most important of her statements concern the Bishop's family. She tells of the soldier brother, William, who was in command in Fife in the '45, and was remembered long afterwards for his humanity (p. cxxxviii). She also records (and we have practically no other information about the parents): "The father and mother of Bishop Berkeley, although not at all related before their marriage (Mrs. Berkeley was aunt to old General Wolfe, father of the famous general of that name), both died in the same week of the asthma, and were interred at the same time in the same grave. They were a happy pair through life, and happy in not being divided in death. It cannot be said that they died an untimely death, both being near ninety. They lived to

¹ p. cccclxx; where we are told that the long letter to James on the Roman controversy, now in the Berkeley Papers, was to have been published in the intended second volume of Monck Berkeley's *Literary Relics*. ² She mentions the journal in Italy and other of the Berkeley Papers, p. dcccxviii; see also her edition of her husband's *Sermons* (London, 1799), p. 349. ³ p. xcvi; but she has it right on p. cccclviii. ⁴ Mrs. Thomson, *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, vol. ii, pp. 165-78.

breed up six sons, gentlemen. They lived to see the eldest a bishop some years before their death. . . ." I can see no reason for not accepting that statement. The editor brings it in very naturally, not to prove some point under dispute, but to explain her son's "hereditary illness, the asthma."¹

(8) The *General Biographical Dictionary* (a new edition by A. Chalmers, vol. v, 1812, pp. 53-64) made a further attempt at completeness by working into Stock's *Life* various notes and criticisms, and especially the widow's criticisms. Chalmers ends his article with the following statement, which seems in general accurate, though it is not everywhere explicit :

"Dr. Berkeley has not been very fortunate in his biographers. An account of him was drawn up by his brother, the Rev. Robert Berkeley, vicar-general of Cloyne, who died in 1787. This was first inserted in the Biog. Britannica, and many mistakes pointed out, and additions made to it in a subsequent volume of that work. Previously to this, in 1776, an 'Account of his Life' was published in a thin octavo volume, at London, which probably was drawn up from family information. Of this a second edition was published in 1784, professedly 'with improvements,' but the errors both of the first edition and of the Biog. Brit. which had then appeared, are retained. In 1784 a new edition of the bishop's entire works was published at Dublin and London, 2 vols., 4to, with the octavo life prefixed. The third vol. of the Biog. Brit. contains some important information from the bishop's widow (who died 1786), and which we have endeavoured to incorporate. It remains only to be noticed that the romance called the 'Adventures of Signor Gaudenzio di Lucca', often attributed to our author, was certainly not his production."

The results of my study of the early Memoirs may be summarized as follows : (a) The comic or "stage philosopher" element in Lives of Berkeley ought to be rejected as coming ultimately from the fanciful account of him in the *British Plutarch*. (b) Stock's *Life* is on the whole reliable. (c) It needs to be supple-

¹ p. cccxcviii. There is another statement (p. ccclxxiij) which partly confirms the above statement, and part of which must be received with reserve ; viz. "Bp. Berkeley was nephew to Archbishop Usher, as was his cousin-german General Wolfe." Usher died in 1656, and Berkeley was born in 1685, and it is therefore not likely that they were uncle and nephew. But "nephew" is sometimes used loosely for grandnephew, and a relationship of some sort is implied in Monck Berkeley's words to his mother (*ib.*), "I am the grandson of Bishop Berkeley, the representative of Archbishop Usher. I hope I feel as I ought the honour conferred upon me (LL.B. conferred by Trinity College, Dublin, by diploma, 1788), and trust that although I cannot equal, I shall never disgrace my famous ancestors."

mented by Mrs. Anne Berkeley's statements (and of course by the letters, etc.). (d) Mrs. Eliza Berkeley's statements about the Bishop are, in general, to be accepted.

Berkeley's writing was an essential part of his life-work, and a study of his life and a study of his books go hand in hand. Some account of each publication will be given *in loco* in the Life itself, and for fuller detail the reader should consult the Bibliography (by T. E. Jessop, 1934). Here I present an introductory survey of the principal editions, showing the general trend of the demand for Berkeley's books, and I shall then pass to a somewhat detailed description of those two collected editions which are source-material for all Berkeleian studies.

Of Berkeley's major philosophical works the *Principles* is the most important; after a poor *début* it has had a greater success than any of the other books. Berkeley published only two editions of it, but since his death there have been at least six separate editions, besides reissues, translations, and collected editions. Four editions of the *Essay on Vision* were put out by Berkeley, but since his death there has been but one separate edition—which is surprising in view of the dominant position long held by the theory itself. It looks as if the new theory has proved more attractive than its supporting argument. The *Three Dialogues* went through three editions while the author was alive, and through three or four editions since his death. The *Alciphron*, with three editions and a reprint in the author's lifetime, and three more editions within fourteen years of his death, has had its day and its success. It was a book of its generation, but it lacked continuing appeal. There was an American issue in 1803, and Bishop Jebb of Limerick a few weeks before his death in 1833 was making preparations for bringing out an edition; but the demand for it disappeared with the disappearance of deism and free-thinking. *Siris*, with seven or more editions in its first year, had the largest immediate circulation of any of the publications, but the demand was short-lived, and there were no posthumous editions outside the collected works. The *Querist* did not attract much attention at first, and Prior could not find a copy in the Dublin shops for the Lord Lieutenant; but it had considerable vogue during the last few years of Berkeley's life, passing through seven or eight editions, and it enjoyed something of a revival in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Three posthumous editions of the *Principles* stand apart, and deserve special mention. In 1776 there was an anonymous edition giving remarks on each section by way of criticism and refutation from the Lockian standpoint; the *Three Dialogues* is appended, and the editor's Advertisement says that both books were out of print and "much enquired for." In 1878 came out Collins Simon's edition, which was four times reissued, and which claimed to be "the only edition with explanations that has ever been prepared by an adherent of Berkeley's." In 1937 Professor T. E. Jessop published the text of the first edition, showing in footnotes the second-edition variants. This edition was the first scholarly presentation of the text, marking the beginning of the attempt to treat the text of a philosophy classic as classical texts deserve to be treated.

Of the collected editions of the works two are outstanding—the anonymous edition of 1784, and A. C. Fraser's edition of 1871. Both editions, for differing reasons, made and marked epochs in Berkeleian scholarship.

I propose to call the former "Stock's edition." The title-page bears no name, and in the Advertisement, apparently conflate (because of the two designations of Stock), an unnamed and unknown "editor" thanks Stock "for his trouble in compiling and revising this edition." Those words *prima facie* imply, and no doubt are meant to imply, that Stock was *not* the editor. I have a shrewd suspicion, however, that the words are a *blind*, and that Stock is the "editor" thanking himself. It looks a strange thing to do but Stock did strange things. He took a deal of trouble to perpetuate the memory of Berkeley, but ostentatiously adds to the title of his *Life* "notes containing strictures upon his works." He preserved his anonymity through two editions of the *Life*, and as I pointed out above (p. 4), he probably wrote the notice in the first edition of the *Biographia* as well. If he was an admirer of Berkeley and afraid to be taken for a Berkeleian, he was not the first or the last of the class. There may have been some lay figure in the background, some George Faulkner of the day, perhaps bearing the expense of the edition; but even so, it is clear that Stock did the work, or the bulk of it. Monck Berkeley, who knew personally the Dublin *littérateurs*, and who must have known Stock himself, and had visited Dublin and received a degree from Trinity College, speaks of the edition within five years of its publication (*Literary Relics*, 1789, Preface) as having been published by Dr. Stock. Since Stock compiled,

revised, and published the edition, he was to all intents and purposes the editor ; his *Life* of Berkeley is prefixed to it ; and I, for one, have no scruple about calling it *his* edition.

In its day Stock's edition was a fine piece of work, significant and influential. It gave the learned world the notion of a *corpus* of Berkeley's works, and made men realize the magnitude of his performance with the pen and the breadth of his horizon. The accompanying *Life* and the letters helped to form a lasting interest in the career and character of the man.

The edition is in two well-printed quarto volumes, with an engraving of the Archbishop of Canterbury's portrait of Berkeley as frontispiece. The *Life* is authenticated by the statement that the particulars were for the most part communicated by Robert Berkeley, the Bishop's brother. There are seventy extracts, with the dates, from letters to Prior, with a much smaller number of letters given more or less in full, to Pope, Arbuthnot, Archdale, and Gervais. A few footnotes are added, such as the statement (vol. i, p. lxxxiv) that the portrait of Berkeley painted by his wife was then in Archdale's possession. In the second volume (p. 419) is a fine reproduction of a drawing to scale of "the City of Bermuda Metropolis of the Summer Islands." The plan must have been drawn out by Berkeley himself, and is referred to by the widow in her contribution to the *Biographia Britannica*.

The editor makes no statement about the works, but he has clearly aimed at giving a complete edition of the *books* published by Berkeley. He has almost, but not quite, succeeded in doing so. The blot on the edition is the omission of *The Theory of Vision . . . Vindicated and Explained*. Other publications omitted are : the Essays in the *Guardian*, *Advice to the Tories who have taken the oaths* (1715), Letter on the eruption of Vesuvius, *On Siris and its enemies* (verses in the *Gentleman's Magazine*), Letter to his clergy, three letters on the militia, signed Eubulus, Letter on the petrifactions of Lough Neagh, Letter to Hales, the second and third Letters to Thomas Prior on tar-water, Observations concerning earthquakes, and one or two Inscriptions. It takes no account of the various editions of the works, nor of the manuscript remains, nor of the letters other than those mentioned above. It is a creditable presentation of the books published by Berkeley, but it is neither complete nor scholarly. I have not explored the text. G. N. Wright, in his edition (1843), complains that Stock's text of the *Principles*, omits "very many passages" ; I imagine Wright

exaggerates here. I compared a good few sections, and found no omissions. Wright certainly is no judge of faithful editing. If Stock is to be charged with sins of omission, Wright is guilty of flagrant sins of addition.

Stock's edition held a dominant position for nearly ninety years. It was reissued in 1820 in three volumes, and in 1837 in one volume. Wright's edition is virtually a reissue, except as regards the *Principles*.

A. C. Fraser's edition of 1871 in four volumes was much more complete and rather more scholarly. He was working under difficulties, however, and himself says that the edition falls short of his own conception of what an edition should be. In my judgment Fraser tried to do too much in too short a time. His aims, as stated in his Preface, were (a) to revise the text, (b) to arrange the works satisfactorily, (c) to explain and annotate the text, (d) to collect and publish the unpublished writings, (e) to interpret the philosophy.

His best work was done in respect of the unpublished writings. The *Berkeley Papers*, now in the British Museum, were lent to him by Archdeacon Rose. Fraser made a fairly close study of them, and from them he selected and published the contents of two notebooks (mistakenly styled by him *Commonplace Book of Occasional Metaphysical Thoughts*), the Description of the Cave of Dunmore, four journals of the Italian tours, sermons and sermon notes, the Primary Visitation charge, and a Confirmation address. This new material was presented in the fourth volume along with the letters published by Stock and Monck Berkeley, and a few new ones. The letters are inserted into a biographical framework, thus forming a synthetic and somewhat artificial *Life*, which was not part of Fraser's original intention. The first two volumes contain the philosophical works, and the third volume contains the miscellaneous publications.

Fraser's order of the books is an improvement on Stock's, but in 1901 he made drastic further alterations, and the fact is that it is impossible to find a fully satisfactory arrangement, and an editor has to try to balance the claims of logical order and chronological. Fraser's annotations were excessive in the first volume, and they became scanty in the second and third volumes, and throughout they are keyed to an exposition of the philosophy rather than to an edition of the works.

As regards his work on the text, his stricture on previous editors that their text "is founded sometimes on one edition and

sometimes on another," bears hardly upon himself. I have not found in his Prefaces any over-all statement about his general method or aims in textual matters ; but it is clear that he has not uniformly taken the true line, viz. to present the text of the latest edition published by the author, and to show the variants in the previous edition or editions (if any).

Of the Essay on Vision he states, " In the present edition the text has been corrected according to that of 1732 collated with the two preceding and with the posthumous ones." That is a deplorable statement. It is ambiguous, leaving the reader in the dark as to what edition lies before him. It assumes that there was only one edition in 1732, when in fact there were two editions ; and if posthumous editions are to be introduced as standards, it is good-bye to a definitive author's text.

Of the *Principles* and the two author's editions, Fraser writes, " The variations in these are carefully marked in the present edition," as before leaving the reader in doubt as to which edition has been taken as basic. The oft-repeated footnote " omitted in second edition " seems to give the palm to the first edition, but some footnotes give the opposite impression. Professor Jessop, in the Preface to his own edition (1937) of the *Principles*, sums it up in the words, " Fraser does not in fact consistently distinguish the texts of the two editions, giving in many places an amalgam." From Fraser's footnotes I gather that the same criticism would apply to his *Three Dialogues*, *Alciphron*, and *Siris*. New editions of some works have come to light since Fraser's day, and therefore his collating, however thoroughly it may have been done, could not be regarded to-day as fully adequate, and most readers would agree, I think, that he has not arranged the results of his collations in a clear and readable form.

In Fraser's edition of 1901 the arrangement of works is more chronological, the tract *Of Infinites* comes in as an appendix to volume iii, and original queries omitted by Berkeley from later editions of the *Querist* are given in an appendix to volume iv. The Introductions were rewritten, and the *Life* and letters become a brief biographical notice in volume i. In respect of the text the 1901 edition made little or no change.

The foregoing strictures on the edition of 1871, and in particular on the text, had to be made in the interests of exact scholarship, but they are not meant to detract from the greatness of Fraser's performance and the lasting value of much of his work. I fully and gladly recognize my personal debt to him. He and

Stock and other lovers of Berkeley laboured, and we have entered into their labours.¹

I turn now to Berkeley's letters, of which more than two hundred and fifty have come down to us. Prior, Gervais, Johnson, and Percival valued his letters and kept them, and I will give a brief account of those four collections.

Thomas Prior and Berkeley were together at school and college, and they remained intimate friends for life. Prior acted as agent for Berkeley, and managed his legal and financial affairs, and the letters are mostly about business matters. The Prior collection passed into the hands of Mervyn Archdale, the learned author of *Monasticon Hibernicum*. Stock saw the letters, and took extracts from them for his 1784 edition. Monck Berkeley, the Bishop's grandson, saw them some five years later, and published most of them in his *Literary Relics*, where he says (Preface), "Those of Bishop Berkeley I received from my friend Mr. Archdale." Those words may mean that the autographs passed into the possession of Monck Berkeley; for there are now some six autograph letters to Prior in the Berkeley Papers; but the original Prior collection must have contained some ninety autograph letters, and most of the letters have long been lost to sight.

The letters to Isaac Gervais, Dean of Tuam, are among the best that Berkeley wrote, gay, spontaneous, informal. About eighteen of them survive. The Rev. Dr. Henry Gervais, Archdeacon of Cashel, lent them to Stock for his edition. One of the autographs came on the market about 1933, and probably the collection has been dispersed.

A small collection, about eleven in number (only one being an autograph), of Berkeley's letters to Johnson exists. Samuel Johnson was the episcopalian minister at Stratford (Conn.) who visited Berkeley in Rhode Island, and corresponded with him on philosophical and educational matters. Johnson's first two letters with Berkeley's replies constitute an important study in Berkeley's philosophy. The correspondence continued for life.

The fourth collection, that made by Sir John Percival, afterwards the first Earl of Egmont, challenges comparison with the Prior collection. The two are of equal length and cover the same period. The Percival letters are more interesting, and of greater

¹ A critical edition of all Berkeley's writings (including his letters) is being prepared by Professor T. E. Jessop and the present writer. It will extend to eight or nine volumes, of which two are almost ready to appear (1948).

importance to the biographer. They are grave, dignified, and written with care, and without them our picture of Berkeley would be incomplete. They are in the Egmont Papers, now deposited in the Public Record Office, London. Fraser did not know of them when he compiled his *Life and Letters*. He examined some of them subsequently, but I doubt if he ever realized fully the extent or the importance of the correspondence. For instance, he wrote that the correspondence ended in Rhode Island (*Works*, vol. i, p. lx), but I found and published letters that bring it to 1748, to within four months of the Earl's death. *Berkeley and Percival*, published by B. Rand in 1914, contains about ninety of Berkeley's letters to Percival, with a large number of Percival's replies, and furnishes a vivid picture of Berkeley among his aristocratic and political friends.

CHAPTER I

THE BERKELEY FAMILY AND GEORGE'S EARLY LIFE

GEORGE BERKELEY was born on 12 March 1685. Stock's *Life* is our authority for the statement, and there is no reason to doubt its truth. As to the place of his birth there is some conflict of evidence, which may be due to a confusion between the place of birth and the early home. The most likely conclusion—one that goes some way towards reconciling the conflicting accounts—is that he was born in the town-land of Kilcrene (which has given its name to several dwelling-houses), a mile or so outside the city of Kilkenny, and that he was brought up at Dysart Castle, or in a house built on to the remains of the castle, about two miles south-east of Thomastown on the road to Inistioge.

The best available authority for the birth-place is Berkeley himself. In his entry in the *ubi natus* column of the Trinity College Entrance Book (see below, p. 31), he states that he was born at Kilkenny, reinforcing the statement in the adjoining column by saying that he was educated there (*ibi*) under Dr. Hinton, the headmaster of Kilkenny College. Stock's *Life* says that he was born at "Kilcrin near Thomastown," and Stock is, no doubt, reproducing the account drawn up by Robert Berkeley, George's younger brother. Biographers have made a difficulty here. They say there is no Kilcrin near Thomastown. But Kilcrin is obviously the same as Kilcrene, which is spelt in several other ways locally, and "near" is a relative term; if Kilcrene is near Kilkenny, it is not so very far from Thomastown, which is only ten miles away. Robert would have been writing away down in Co. Cork in his old age, about 100 miles from both places, and his thoughts would naturally be centred on Thomastown where he and his elder brother were brought up. Bearing these things in mind, we see that there is probably no substantial difference between the statements of the two brothers; but if there is any discrepancy, George's statement is to be preferred.

The question is apparently, but not really, complicated by the

statement of the third authority in the case, W. Tighe, who could hardly have known about the birth-place, but must have been well-informed about the early home. In 1802 Tighe wrote, "the castle of Dysett, lower on the river, is remarkable for having been the birth-place of Bishop Berkeley."¹ That is an authoritative statement, if it is understood solely of the early home, but not if it is taken *au pied de la lettre*. Tighe wrote from Woodstock Lodge, Inistioge (the place is still in the Tighe family, but the house was burnt in 1920), only a couple of miles from Dysart Castle. He could see the Castle as he wrote, and he must often have spoken with villagers who had known the Berkeleys there, and who perhaps remembered George himself. He could not have been mistaken about the Berkeleys' connection with Dysart (the modern postal spelling), though naturally he would have no way of knowing that the early home was not George's actual birth-place.

Thus accepting from George the statement that he was born at Kilkenny, and from Robert the statement that George was born at Kilcrene and was connected with Thomastown, and from Tighe the connection with Dysart, we reach the conclusion stated above.

Local tradition connecting the Berkeleys with Dysart is still strong to-day. The Holdens, on whose land are the ruins of the Castle, have been there for two or three generations, and they had the place, they told me, from the Carrolls; whether the Carrolls took over from the Berkeleys they did not know, but they were positive that the slates on their comfortable farm-house up near the Inistioge road came from the old house down by the river, whose gable-end, ivy-covered, can still be seen beside the older Tower, and in that old house, no doubt, the Berkeleys lived towards the close of the seventeenth century.

Of the philosopher's father and mother little is now known. Mr. T. U. Sadleir of the Office of Arms, Dublin, a well-known genealogist, told me that he had made investigations in the records, but had no sure information. The literary evidence is contained in Stock's *Life*, in the Trinity College Entrance Book, and in Eliza Berkeley's Preface to her son's *Poems*. From these sources I piece together the following account. They were a royalist

¹ *Statistical Observations relative to the county of Kilkenny*, p. 638. For a fuller discussion see my *Berkeley's Birth-place*, app. to *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlviii, c. 7, p. 286. Kilcreene House, within one mile of Kilkenny city, was advertised for sale in the *Irish Times*, 17 November 1933.

family, and suffered for their loyalty to Charles I. George's grandfather came over to Ireland after the Restoration, and obtained the collectorship of Belfast. His son, George's father, was William Berkeley of Thomastown, who may have been born in England, but settled in Ireland, and, like his father, held a collectorship at an Irish port (unnamed). A collectorship was not necessarily a whole-time occupation, and Eliza Berkeley says that in Ireland it was a respectable post often held by noblemen's sons. Probably William Berkeley held a revenue appointment, and managed to combine it with the life of a gentleman farmer. He was clearly a man of position, and fairly well-to-do. His sons went to good schools; three of them went to the university, where two of them won fellowships. In George's entry in the Entrance Book, the father is described as *generosus* (gentleman); in the entries of Robert (1717) and of Thomas (1721) he appears, respectively, as "vexill. equestris" and "ducis militum." Evidently he became a commissioned military officer, and no doubt he had offered his services during the Jacobite rebellion (1715); but whether his military rank was temporary or permanent, in the regulars or the militia, we do not know. From the entries of the younger sons we also see that the family moved from Thomastown to the neighbourhood of Thurles before the turn of the century, and we might infer that they subsequently moved to Dublin, since Thomas was educated at a Dublin school, and not, like his brothers, at Kilkenny.

Of Mrs. William Berkeley, Eliza Berkeley states that she was "aunt to old General Wolfe, father of the famous general of that name." According to the same authority the Bishop's parents "lived to breed up six sons gentlemen," they saw their eldest son a bishop, and they both died in the same week, being both nearly ninety years old.¹ That there was some distant relationship or, rather, connection with the Wolfes is clear from the correspondence of young Wolfe with his father. In July 1752 the future hero

¹ Preface, Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, pp. ccclxxii, ccclxxiii, cccxcviii; see also Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, Appendix I, and *ib.*, p. 32, where we find the interesting information that Kilcreene, Kilkenny, was the seat of Sir William Evans, a cousin of the Wolfes. For Wolfe's letters see B. Willson, *Life and Letters of James Wolfe*, 1909, especially p. 201. "Paris, January 29, 1753. . . . The good Bishop is at last released from the misery and pain that he so long laboured under, oppressed by a disease at his time of life incurable. His death is not to be lamented otherwise than as concerns his family. If there's any place for good men hereafter I believe he is at rest, and entirely free from all complaints." A Mr. Wolfe, an elderly bachelor, "a grave regular man," is mentioned in two of Berkeley's letters as an intimate friend. (Fraser, *LL*, p. 266; *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii, p. 45).

of Quebec visited an old uncle of the same name in Dublin, and then went south, and sailed from Cork to Bristol just about the time that Berkeley was making the same voyage. Fraser (*LL*, p. 337) suggests that they may have travelled together. Wolfe speaks of the Bishop as if they had met recently, mentioning his ailments, and when a few months later he hears of the Bishop's death, he comments on it in a way that assumes a connection, though not a near relationship.

There is some evidence that Mrs. William Berkeley was Elisabeth, daughter of Francis Southerne, brewer, of Dublin, and of Margaret, sister of John Stearne, who was a Senior Fellow of Trinity College. If this identification be correct, it confirms Monck Berkeley's statement that he was descended from Archbishop Ussher; for Stearne was Ussher's great-nephew. The published Registers of St. Michan's parish, Dublin, have several references to the Southerne family in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and to the Wolfes, Tighes, and Stearnes. They record the burial there of Elisabeth, widow of William Berkeley, merchant, on 24 October 1694.

Our Berkeleys were, almost certainly, connected distantly with the great English families of that name. A contemporary reference to the Dean in Mrs. Delany's correspondence has a footnote which describes him as "a cadet of the family of Earl Berkeley."¹ Mr. G. F.-H. Berkeley of Hanwell Castle, Banbury, who is in direct descent from Robert, the Bishop's brother, tells me that the Bishop impaled the arms of the Berkeley Castle branch with those of Cloyne, and that he has a signed Notice of Visitation dated 1 May 1742, which shows the impression of the seal (opposite p. 197). From the Bishop's letters we know that Captain George Berkeley of the Royal Navy, whose heirs-at-law were the Bishop and his brothers, spent his last summer at the Earl of Berkeley's hunting seat, and made small bequests to the Earl and Countess and "to my cousin Captain William Berkeley," the Bishop's younger brother. To Lord Berkeley of Stratton Berkeley dedicated his *Three Dialogues*, "to do honour to myself." Swift made the introduction at court, and made it "in the handsomest manner," telling the Earl that Berkeley was of his family and "an honour to it," and then added, as it were in abatement of his merit, that he was "good for something."² In his early days in London

¹ *Autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville*, vol. i, p. 319n. ² Delany, *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, p. 28. The jest appears in a developed form in Monck Berkeley, *Literary Relics*, p. liv.

Berkeley seems to have avoided claiming this relationship ; for he wrote to Percival (*B&P*, p. 116), "There is here a Lord of my name, a man of letters, and a very worthy man from whom I have received great civilities ; I dine two or three times a week at his table." In the College Books of the day his name is spelt in five different ways—Berkeley, Berkley, Berkly, Berkely, and Barkly—the last seeming to determine the pronounciation. Berkeley himself always, I think, spells it with the three *es*.

Berkeley held his head high, and shows no trace of undue family pride ; he was of gentle birth ; his folk were well connected, but not ennobled, comfortably off, but not affluent. In Trinity College he was a "pensioner," who paid the ordinary fees, as distinct from "fellow-commoner," who paid double fees. He was awarded an Erasmus Smith Exhibition (1701), and these exhibitions were not intended for wealthy students ; but he was not a Sizar, a really poor student ; and he himself notes (*PC*, No. 569) that he was *not* the poorest in his set. In the Dedication of his *Principles* he calls himself "an obscure person," and so he might think of himself amid the splendours of the vice-regal court ; but he moved in good Dublin society, and moved there with ease. The very earliest of his letters, those to Sir John Percival, if somewhat stilted, show taste and good manners with poise and self-possession. Recent suggestions that he was low-born, or that he was ashamed of his parents, or that there was some mystery about his birth, or that his home was unhappy, spring from the hoary fallacy of silence, and I can find no foundation in fact for them. Why does he never mention his parents or record visits home ? There may be some perfectly simple answer to those questions which needs no spice of scandal or rattling of skeletons in the cupboard. Who does preserve family correspondence or record visits home ? He was a good brother ; yet not a single letter, I think, to a brother or any other relative survives, and for all we *know* to the contrary, he may have gone to see his parents in Dublin every day after his lectures.¹

In point of fact, Berkeley does mention his father once in an extant manuscript. I stumbled on it by mere accident. The case is so curious, and admits of such a natural explanation, that it is

¹ There are grounds for my suggestion : (1) Why does he say "I never lie in a feather bed *in the College* (italics mine)" if he had no other place to go to in Dublin ? (2) Percival sends him a parcel "directed for you at Trinity College, Dublin," as if he might have addressed it elsewhere in Dublin. Rand, *B&P*, pp. 101, 183. (3) Thomas, the youngest brother, attended Sheridan's school in Dublin ; elder brothers went to Kilkenny College and Doggerell's, the rival Kilkenny school.

worth mentioning. Three copies of Berkeley's Description of the Cave of Dunmore exist in manuscript. Two copies are among the Molyneux Papers (call them A and B) ; the third (call it C) is in the volume which contains the *Philosophical Commentaries*. In the passage about the "dead men's bones," all three copies now read, "I remember to have heard one tell," but A and B originally read "I remember to have heard my father tell," and in them the words "my father" have been heavily scored out and the word "one" has been substituted. The original mention of his father as an authority for the local gossip was perfectly natural, but why the omission in two copies and the heavy erasures? The reason seems to me perfectly obvious and quite natural. The bones were the remains of those who were massacred at the cave in the rebellion of 1641, or at any rate that explanation was commonly given, and Berkeley did not want to associate his father, even at second or third hand, with a statement about those sad events. The copies A and B were being filed with the records of the Society before which the Description was read, and anyone who has lived through more recent "troubles" would understand the wisdom of keeping the names of relatives and friends out of documents that might be used against them.¹ Any good and careful son to-day would do just what Berkeley did.

Berkeley was an Irishman of English descent. The statement will puzzle Anglo-Saxons who do not know Irish history, and it will puzzle Gaels who know little of English history ; but it is a true statement, and important for a due understanding of Berkeley's public life. "Berkeley always considered himself an Englishman" ² ; that statement is almost certainly untrue, and quite certainly it is inadequate and misleading. His family came originally from England, no doubt ; but Irish air acts quickly ; one generation can alter the outlook, and Berkeley's father was settled in Ireland, if not born there. There were Berkeleys

¹ see my *Berkeley's Description of the Cave of Dunmore, Hermathena*, vol. xxi (1931), p. 151. The erasure of the words *my father* has been carefully done ; the words are almost blotted out, and you could not read what is under the blot unless you happened to take the MS. to the window, as I did, and look at it in good light. I showed the palimpsest to Messrs. Hone and Rossi, and they jumped to the wrong conclusion, and in their book (p. 8) used it to support their contention that there was trouble between father and son. Note that the sentences in C, in which the rebellion of 1641 and the massacre are explicitly mentioned (*Fraser, Works*, vol. iv, p. 80, lines 28-42), do not occur in either A or B. This shows clearly what was in Berkeley's mind, and though he advances the counter theory of the cave as a burial-ground, he himself explodes that theory. When I visited the cave some years ago I found no bones, but a local farmer told me he had found some. ² *Dictionary of National Biography*.

in Ireland long before the eighteenth century.¹ Berkeley had relatives, friends, and interests on both sides of the Channel, and he was prepared to divide his sympathies and make the best of both worlds. Son of a Protestant Anglo-Irish settler, he inherited prejudices against the Irish Catholic; but in large measure he outgrew those prejudices. Here are the facts: he was born, bred, and educated an Irishman in Ireland; practically all his great works were written in Ireland²; the three greatest of them, the *Essay on Vision*, the *Principles*, and the *Three Dialogues* were written before he set foot outside Ireland. He writes, "We Irishmen . . ." four times in a private notebook,³ and in his *Principles* he calls Sir Isaac Newton "a philosopher of a neighbouring nation."⁴ Of course he was not blind to what he owed to English blood and English culture and the Protestant succession, nor was he blind to the evils of the English administration in Ireland. In consequence his political standpoint throughout life was that of moderate Irish nationalism. The green strain is in his early letters to Percival⁵; it permeates the *Querist*, and shows in many other ways. True, he wished "both nations to become one people" (Qu. 90), and asked, "Whether we are not as much *Englishmen* as the children of old Romans, born in Britain, were still *Romans*?" (Qu. 92). But an Irishman is expressing the wish, and an Irishman is asking that hard question, which he did not answer, and which remains a question. As late as 1746, when he was over sixty years old, Berkeley refers to himself⁶ as an Irishman who would be passed over for the Primacy, because an Englishman, Bishop Stone, was seeking it.

The other members of the family, with the exception of Robert or Robin, are shadowy figures to us. There seem to have been six brothers, of whom George was the eldest, the others in order of age being Rowland, Ralph, William, Robert, and Thomas. Berkeley once mentions a "sister,"⁷ but probably he is referring to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert Berkeley, who, living so near Cloyne, was one of the family. There is no other mention of a sister.

Rowland and Ralph settled in the south of Ireland, Rowland at Newmarket and Ralph at Scarteen. They do not appear by

¹ see T. U. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, and the Inistioige Records. ² The *Analyst* was the only major work written in England. ³ *Philosophical Commentaries*, Nos. 392, 393, 394, 398, written 1707-8. ⁴ S. 110, 1st edition (1710); the whole passage is omitted from the 2nd edition (1734), the reason for the omission being arguable. ⁵ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 71, 117. ⁶ Fraser, *LL*, p. 310. ⁷ Fraser, *LL*, p. 301, 3 September 1744.

name in Berkeley's correspondence, but by a process of exclusion we may infer that one of the two was in Berkeley's mind as agent for his Derry estate, when he wrote, "I had once thought of employing a brother of my own, but have now no thought of that kind."¹ Rowland's will was dated 5 May 1757; Ralph married Anne Hobson, and their daughter, Elisabeth, married Canon Kippax, Vicar of Clonfert.

William was a soldier, and is mentioned twice in Berkeley's letters. In 1726 he was a cornet, quartered in Sligo, and he is to get a gift or loan of £40 from his elder brother. In 1751 he has apparently just left Cloyne, is on his way to Dublin, and will repay certain debentures. He is probably the Captain William Berkeley to whom his cousin left £100, and he may well have been Captain William Berkeley commissioned in General St. George's Dragoons, who wrote an account of the campaign in Scotland. Eliza Berkeley speaks of him as "a most excellent officer," who "held a command in Fife in the '45," and was remembered there with gratitude forty years later when her son was at St. Andrews.²

Thomas, the youngest brother, was the black sheep of the family. He was born in County Tipperary about 1704, and he attended the school in Dublin kept by Sheridan, Swift's friend. He entered Trinity College on 2 March 1721, and graduated B.A. in 1725. In the following year he was in trouble; apparently he had married a Miss Hewetson, and had subsequently gone through the form of marriage with another person. He was condemned to death for bigamy in 1726; whether the sentence was carried out is not known. It was a grave crime, and Berkeley makes a bitter reference to it in his letter to Prior of 3 September 1726. If the death penalty was not enforced, the incident may well have been the original of the elopement story told by Eliza Berkeley (below, p. 185*n*).³

Robert, or Robin, is often mentioned in the letters. He was born about 1699 near Thurles, and he went to Doggerell's school, Kilkenny. He entered Trinity College in 1717, and had a distin-

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 123; Brady *Records*, vol. ii, p. 301, vol. iii, p. 116. Brady was Vicar of Clonfert, and probably had a local source of information. ² Fraser, *LL*, pp. 122, 312*n*, 328; *Dublin Journal*, 14 April 1744, 19 August 1746; Preface, Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. cxxviii. William left one daughter, who married Richard Magenis of Antrim, and lived till 1831 (Burke's *Irish Landed Gentry*, sub Magenis). Isaac Butt is said to have been related to the Bishop through William. ³ *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xli, c. 4, p. 144; see also *Irish Archaeological Journal* for 1924, and Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, p. 9.

guished course there, winning a scholarship in 1719, graduating B.A. in 1721, and taking a fellowship in 1724. In 1732 he was appointed to the college living of Ardtrea, and two years later he married in Dublin Anne Elizabeth Dawson, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. In 1741 the Bishop gave him the living of Midleton, and he lived at Ballinacurra (Ballynacorra) between Midleton and Cloyne. His wife died in 1748 and was buried in Midleton churchyard. Robert was a distinguished churchman, and the support of the bishop's declining years. The Chapter of Cloyne appointed him Treasurer on 17 June 1742, and Oeconomus in the following year. He became Vicar-general of the diocese, and was commissioned to hold visitations when the bishop left for Oxford, and *sede vacante* the Dean and Chapter elected him Guardian of the spiritualities (Chapter Book below, p. 170). He furnished Stock with particulars for his brother's *Life*. He died on 9 August 1787, and was buried at Midleton; a mural tablet in the church commemorates his long ministry. His eldest son George was father of General Sackville Berkeley, whose son, the Reverend Sackville Berkeley, showed Fraser a Plato¹ that had belonged to his grandfather, and bears the inscription, "This book was given as a present by the Rt. R: George Berkeley, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne to me the 21st day of November, 1751, George Berkeley, Ballinacurra, County of Corke, Ireland." This was, no doubt, the George Berkeley, born at Cloyne, who at the age of fifteen entered Trinity College, Dublin, from Belturbet School on 25 April 1752; curiously, on the same day another George Berkeley, aged sixteen, entered, but no further particulars are given of him.

Two miles from Thomastown, not far from the Cistercian Abbey of Jerpoint, already in Berkeley's day a ruin, the River Nore sweeps round in a big bend beneath the wooded hills over which runs the road to Inistioge. In the grassy amphitheatre thus formed stand a gaunt tower and ivied walls, and scattered around are the stones that mark the sites of buildings long since fallen, and of their spacious courtyards. Those are the remains of Dysart Castle, a monastic establishment of long ago or the abode of some chieftain of feudal days. A few yards from the tower may still be seen the gable-end and other remains of a dwelling-house of later date than the castle. Either in the castle or (as is more probable) in the adjacent house lived William Berkeley in the

¹ Fraser *LL*, p. 281*n*; this Plato with five other books that once belonged to Berkeley are now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

last decade of the seventeenth century, and there his famous son, George, passed his childhood and early youth.

Berkeley was an observant, critical, questioning lad, "distrustful at 8 years old,"¹ and he notes elsewhere² that "from my childhood I had an unaccountable turn of thought that way." I wonder what he was recalling, what incident or memory-image came back to him when he penned those notes. The quiet beauty of the sheltered nook, the great tower of the ivied castle with the silver river running by must have left a deep impression on his mind. When he left his home he would see the castle, "a large square building with battlements and turrets"³; but far off, from across the valley, he would see it small and round. Perhaps one day, coming back from school or market, he stopped and looked with wonder at the tower, and asked himself whether the little round object and the great square object could really be one and the same thing, and if not, what then? At any rate, of such wonderings and questionings young philosophers are made.

In his eleventh year Berkeley went to a boarding-school. "The fair city of Kilkenny," some ten miles from Thomastown, with its noble cathedral church of St. Canice, its slender Round Tower, and the frowning castle of the Ormondes overlooking the River Nore, was then an important centre of Irish provincial life. Kilkenny College, "the Eton of Ireland," was founded in 1538 by the 8th Earl of Ormonde. The school roll contains many notable names, sons of the nobility, and those marked for fame in letters and the arts of peace and of war. The school house and its playing-fields lie in the heart of the city, in the shadow of the castle at a bend of the Nore. There Jonathan Swift was educated, and from that river bank he hooked and lost "the great fish," symbol of the ill-fortune awaiting him in life. William Congreve was his school-mate, and there in later days were taught General Pack, John Banim⁴ the novelist, Archbishop Magee, and, in our own day, Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty.

The headmaster, the Rev. Edward Hinton, D.D., had been appointed in 1684; he fled to England after the accession of King James II, and the school was closed or used as a hospital. He returned after the Battle of the Boyne, and the school was reopened before the end of 1691. He was appointed Dean of Kilkenny about 1702, but died before he could take office.⁵

¹ PC No. 266. ² Fraser *LL*, p. 504. ³ *Alc.* iv, 9. ⁴ His novel, *The Fetches*, opens with a picture of the school life. ⁵ see W. E. Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*. The school register with Berkeley's entry is in the library, Trinity College, Dublin.

Berkeley was entered at the school on 17 July 1696. He had already been well taught, and had given proof of his remarkable ability; for on entering he was placed in the highest class but one. Six months later Thomas Prior of Rathdowney entered, and then began the close friendship which was to last for life, to benefit Ireland directly, and to yield the correspondence which is one of the two chief sources for Berkeley's story. Prior was one of the most practical and matter-of-fact persons, and if Berkeley had been the romantic, whimsical dreamer depicted by some writers, a friendship between the two boys would have been unlikely. Of his other friends he names only one, Langton, who was later to be a curate in County Meath, and to antagonize his parishioners by preaching passive obedience.¹ We have one glimpse, and one glimpse only, of his school-days, and it is a happy one. On a fine day in July 1699 he and several of his school friends went over with guns and dogs to explore the cave of Dunmore, a remarkable natural feature, four miles from Kilkenny. Berkeley was a keen observer of detail, with a photographic memory; seven years later he wrote from memory an account of the place, which was read at a Dublin or college meeting.² His description of the cave is spirited and wonderfully accurate, and after all that has been written and invented about his supposed eccentricities, it is pleasing to see him a normal apple-eating schoolboy, enjoying a holiday with his friends, shooting rabbits and waking the echoes.³

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 90: "I was acquainted with this Langton when I went to school in Kilkenny, and thought him to be somewhat silly." Langton, curiously enough, had been a Dominican friar. ² see above, p. 25. I have checked his description on more than one occasion. ³ In his Italian Journal for 6 June 1717 Berkeley writes of fruitful hills near Ariano "yielding view like the County of Armagh"—a sharp warning to those who argue *à silentio* about his youth; but for this casual remark, no one could have guessed that as a young man he had ever visited the North of Ireland.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT DAYS

COMING up to Dublin, Berkeley entered Trinity College as a "pensioner" 21 March 1700 at the early age of fifteen, his tutor being Dr. Joseph Hall, the Vice-Provost. Here is a copy of his entry taken from the original Entrance Book :

1699	Pupillus	Parents	Aetas	Ubi Natus	Ubi Educatus	Tutor
700	Geo:	Filius	Annū	Natus	Ibi educatus	Dr. Jo:
Martii	Berkley	Gulielm	agens	Kilkenniae	sub Dre	Hall
die	pens.	Berkly	15		Hinton	V. Prepts
21		Gefn:				

The city was at a period of transition. The old Danish settlement on the hill overlooking the ford of the Liffey was expanding rapidly, and now embraced outlying suburbs, which brought its population to about 50,000 at the turn of the century. Trinity College, in its title, *near* ("juxta") Dublin, was now in fact well within the city boundary. She was recovering from the occupation and the civil war which had exhausted and almost ruined her. She had celebrated her first centenary, and was beginning to enjoy the support and favour of the Government and the country. Her library was a poor affair, but steps were being taken to replace it, and Burgh's great new building rose between 1712 and 1732. The teaching staff had been increased, the courses widened ; new wine was in the old bottles. Locke's *Essay*, published in 1690, went on the course almost at once, through the influence of William Molyneux, and was working like leaven. William King, Archbishop of Dublin, whose *De origine mali* (1702) enjoyed a European reputation, accepted the Lockian theory of sense perception. So, with reservations, did Peter Browne, who had been appointed Provost in 1699, the year before Berkeley entered. Browne was a subtle thinker with decided views of his own, and while he was critical of Locke's ideas of reflection, he promoted the study of Locke, and himself accepted a good deal of "the new way of ideas." Learned societies sprang up within

the walls of the university and without ; scientific study was encouraged ; research was beginning ; received opinions were challenged ; the awakening had come to Dublin, the enlightenment to her college. The scene was set for a daring philosophy and the denial of matter.

The college register furnishes the main facts about Berkeley's student days. Appointed an Erasmus Smith Exhibitioner 16 June 1701, he was elected Scholar of the House 1 June 1702 ; a grace for his B.A. degree was passed 24 February 1704, and he took out the degree at the ensuing Spring Commencements. The course consisted of mathematics, languages, logic, and philosophy. The principal languages taught were Latin and Greek ; Berkeley also studied French and Hebrew. His all-round proficiency was remarkable ; he was not only an acute thinker, but a thinker with a background of wide and solid learning. How acute his powers of speculative thought, how wide his reading, and how thorough his learning can best be appreciated by a study of his two notebooks, to which I refer below (p. 47), but his *Arithmetica* and *Miscellanea Mathematica* bears similar witness. This little-known work, his first publication, published anonymously in 1707 (no doubt as a fellowship thesis), as a contribution to knowledge is negligible, but it is eloquent testimony to his powers, his promise, and his learning ; for it deals efficiently with various mathematical subtleties in good and idiomatic Latin. The greater part of it, as the Preface says, was written nearly three years before it was published, and thus we see that Berkeley was an elegant composer in the Latin tongue before he had reached the age of twenty. Add the facts that he was equally eloquent in English, that he was a mathematician and a profound philosopher, and that his speculations at this early age were to challenge the attention of the learned world for two or three hundred years, at least, and one may be pardoned for doubting whether the new higher education is so much in advance of the old.

The semi-serious *De ludo algebraico* which concludes this collection contains some pleasing pen-pictures of college life and college types ; we read of the sad solitude of the reading men ("tristem in musaeo solitudinem"), of the hard life of those "qui vulgo audiunt Pumps [swots]" ; we see the groups of idlers whiling away the time at chess or cards or dominoes ; their friends look on and yawn, and Berkeley, mingling *utile dulci*, calls them all to come and play his "game of algebra" and improve their minds and enjoy the fun.

We can name several of his college friends, public-spirited men destined to leave their mark on Irish life. There was Thomas Prior, his school friend, who had come up to college a year before him. There was Samuel Madden, one of the promoters of the Dublin Society, who was to earn the nickname "Premium Madden" because of his advocacy of prizes as an encouragement to learning, industry, farming, the arts, and other activities. Madden gave many prizes himself, and infused the prize-giving spirit into the Dublin Society, as the advertisements in the *Dublin Journal* over many years bear witness. He was a noted philanthropist and a man of letters; his published works include the play *Themistocles*. Later he acted for Berkeley as "editor" of the *Querist*. A cousin of his, John Madden, was in the same set, and won fellowship three years after Berkeley. Matthew French *Junior* was one year senior to Berkeley, and it is he, probably, who with one of the Maddens is mentioned in the *Commentaries* (No. 569) as taking part in ethical discussions.

Among the younger college men who were later his friends should be mentioned Edward Synge, who was elected fellow in 1710, and remained his friend for life, and as Bishop of Elphin wrote a beautiful letter of condolence to the son when Bishop Berkeley died. To William Palliser, the son of the Archbishop of Cashel, the *Arithmetica* is dedicated; but he was quite young and did not enter till 1709. Samuel Molyneux, to whom the *Miscellanea Mathematica* was dedicated, was somewhat older than Palliser, but was considerably junior to Berkeley, who may have given them both private tuitions.¹ He was the son of William Molyneux, Member for the University, friend and correspondent of Locke, author of *The Case of Ireland's . . . Stated*, and of *Dioptrics*. Samuel Molyneux must have been connected with Berkeley's college societies; for he has preserved two of Berkeley's early essays² in manuscript along with other papers clearly belonging to the records of the Dublin Philosophical Society in which his father was interested. Samuel Molyneux had a distinguished career; he was for a time secretary to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, and he is said to have introduced Berkeley to the Prince and Princess Caroline, and to have defended him when the discourses on Passive Obedience were misrepresented at Court.³ He became a Lord of the Admiralty and Member of Parliament.

¹ "ipse studiorum tuorum conscius," Dedication. ² *Description of the Cave of Dunmore*, and *Of Infinites*. ³ *Stock's Life*.

Of Thomas Contarini, who entered college in 1701, we are told, "In youth he had been the College companion of Bishop Berkeley, and was worthy to have had so divine a friend."¹ Contarini was Goldsmith's uncle and benefactor. He comes into Berkeley's story only because of the following well known but unauthenticated tale. The story is that Berkeley went to see a public execution, and becoming curious about the sensations of a man *in articulo mortis*, arranged with Contarini that each should "hang" the other in turn, the release being given at a signal. Berkeley was suspended first; he waited too long to give the release signal, and became unconscious. Seeing that he had gone under, Contarini let him down hastily, and when he recovered consciousness, Berkeley's first words were, "Bless my heart, Contarini, you have rumpled my band." Contarini did not take his turn in the noose.

It is a silly story, which caught on because it had the authority of the *Annual Register* (1763) behind it; and from such material the legend of Berkeley, as an eccentric fool, was formed. It is therefore important to note that within three years of its publication it was described in the *Biographia Britannica* (1766, vol. 6, pt. ii, supp., pp. 13-16) as "the idle story which has crept into the *Annual Register* for the year 1763, from a Grubstreet pamphlet." I doubt if there is a word of truth in it. The experiment is just the sort of one which students enjoy *discussing*, but no wise, or indeed Christian, student would perform it, or allow it to be performed. It was probably talked into actuality. Berkeley was a keen experimentalist; he experimented with inverted glasses (like Stratton), in wordless thought, and along the lines of the Molyneux Problem; and, moreover, the moment of death was of speculative importance to him.² He might well have gone to watch the execution; he might even have framed the experiment as an aid to speculation, and have talked about it on Commons; but it is most unlikely that he ever had any thought of carrying it out.

Berkeley was no recluse or bookworm, and there is direct evidence of his social activities during his post-graduate days; for in one of his notebooks³ rules and records of two learned societies occur. All the indications⁴ are that they were college societies for the benefit of students. One of the rules is "that no

¹ J. Forster, *The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith*, vol. i, p. 25. ² see *PC* Nos. 83, 390, 590, with my notes. ³ Notebook "B"; see *PC*, pp. 3, 470-72. ⁴ e.g. the petty fines, and the absence of place names.

member reveal the secrets of the assembly"; that is a normal rule for the conduct of the business of Chapters and similar bodies; but some writers on Berkeley have been misled by it, and have suspected him of being concerned in doubtful political activities, and I have seen the suggestion that he instituted a secret society for propagating immaterialism, the latter suggestion deriving from the erroneous assumption that just because the one notebook was used for the purposes of the societies and for philosophical notes, there must have been some connection between these societies and the doctrine of the *Commentaries*.¹

The first of these societies had a limited membership; it consisted of eight persons, of whom four were officers, viz. President, Treasurer, Secretary, and Keeper of the Rarities. It was to meet every Friday, debate a set subject, and then consider the members' "inventions, new thoughts or observations in any of the sciences"; its rules or "statutes" are dated 10 January 1706 (1705 O.S.). The rules² of the other society are dated 7 December 1706; its members were to meet every Thursday at 5 p.m. "to discourse on some part of the new Philosophy."³ Tradition connects one or other of these societies with the early history of the University Philosophical Society, a students' society whose records go back to 1842.

Berkeley's own position in the societies is not known, but since he had possession of a notebook containing their rules, we may guess that he was an official, perhaps secretary. That he was a contributor to the debates is practically certain; for there are two manuscript essays of his belonging to this period, the *Description of the Cave of Dunmore*, and the *Of Infinites*, which are preserved among the Molyneux Papers with other essays by various writers; the former work is linked to the college society by the fact that it has been copied by Berkeley into the notebook containing the rules at the far end, as if the notebook was originally intended to hold records as well as rules. Berkeley probably also read it at a wider meeting of learned Dublin folk; for one of the two copies of it in the Molyneux Papers has been adapted for reading before "this illustrious assembly"—words which would be out of place at an ordinary meeting of the "eight persons." This may well have been the occasion on which the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (April 1707

¹ see *PG* p. xxvii. ² There are only four rules, and perhaps the list was continued in another notebook. ³ i.e. the philosophy of the "enlightenment," Descartes, Locke, and perhaps Malebranche.

to November 1708), was present at a meeting at which Berkeley delivered the "harangue" that won the Earl's approval.¹

The *Of Infinites* is a short technical piece, which applies a remark of Locke's to the discussion of infinitesimals in works by Wallis, Nieuwentitt, Leibniz, Cheyne, Newton, and Raphson. It speaks of "Sir Isaac," and therefore must be later than 16 April 1705, on which day Newton was knighted. It has a good deal in common with discussions in the *Philosophical Commentaries*, especially with the series 351-58, where see my notes. The mathematical doctrine of infinite divisibility was commonly regarded as furnishing evidence for the existence of matter; hence Berkeley's special interest in infinitesimals.

Berkeley graduated B.A. just about the beginning of his twentieth year, and the ensuing three years were of high significance in the story of his intellectual development. This *triennium* was the germinal period of his philosophy, and we must pause to see his situation in historical perspective. Graduation was regarded then as the beginning, and not the end, of higher education, and it was customary for Bachelors of Arts to stay on in college and study. A student of distinction would naturally aim at fellowship of the college, "the only reward of learning that kingdom has to bestow."² But the fellowships were limited in number, and until a vacancy occurred candidates were marking time. Several years elapsed sometimes without an election being held. Fellows were by statute obliged to take Holy Orders and were forbidden to marry while they held their fellowships.³ In the ordinary course a fellow would engage in the teaching and administration of the college for a number of years, and then, if he wished to marry, he would "go out on a College living." Thus a vacancy would occur; an election to fill it would be announced for the following Trinity Monday, and the candidates would at once begin to prepare intensively for the open, competitive examination prescribed by the statutes to be held in the week before the election. This academic *cursus honorum* was a stern ordeal, and only those with great ability and great staying power would engage in it; there was uncertainty not alone as to the result of the examination but as to the holding of an election. But possibly the long-drawn uncertainty would have a stimulating and fructifying effect on a mind, like Berkeley's, wide awake and ever open to intellectual

¹ see PC No. 396 and my note there. ² Fraser LL, p. 23. ³ These obligations were removed in the nineteenth century.

adventure ; for it would give point and breadth to his reading while allowing him liberty to follow out his own line.

Berkeley took the risk ; he stayed on in college after graduation, reading, writing, and preparing for the fellowship examination. His chance came in the autumn of 1706, when on 24 September Mr. William Mullart¹ was nominated to the college living of Clinish, and vacated his fellowship. Berkeley became a candidate for the vacancy. Early in 1707 he published his *Arithmetica* and *Miscellanea Mathematica*,² his "studiorum primitias," which may have been designed to assist his candidature. On 9 June in that year he was admitted fellow, "having previously sustained with honour the very trying examination, which the candidates for that preferment are by the statutes required to undergo."³ Berkeley thus set foot on the ladder of fame, obtaining by his election a modest competence, congenial employment, and a right to be heard in things of the mind.

Now while he was waiting for the fellowship and preparing for the examination, he was waiting and preparing for a greater prize and a more searching test, viz. the conception and examination of a new and revolutionary hypothesis about perception and the world of sense. "ye immaterial hypothesis,"⁴ when he penned the phrase, had reached such an advanced stage, and had been thought out into so many of its consequences, including an outline of his Essay on Vision, that we may be sure that the notion of immaterialism had been in Berkeley's mind for months, if not years, already. It seems probable that he learned to doubt the existence of matter soon after he graduated in 1704, and that in his early post-graduate years he was mainly occupied in following up the ramifications of the theory and weighing its consequences. That he put pen to paper can scarcely be doubted. Nothing philosophical of his from this *triennium* has survived⁵ ; but no doubt his early essay on time⁶ belonged to this period, and it is reasonable to suppose that what he later called "my first arguings" was in fact a rough draft of an argument for immaterialism, written in the same period, which started from

¹ We read of Mullart in the Locke-Molyneux correspondence (*Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his friends*, pp. 112, 122). He had been engaged by Molyneux to translate Locke's *Essay* into Latin, and had made a start on it ; then a fellowship fell vacant, and he had to suspend the translation, and concentrate on the examination ; he was elected fellow in 1696. ² see above, p. 32. ³ Stock's *Life*.

⁴ PC No. 19 ; see my note *ib.* ⁵ Except the slight *Of Infinities*, already mentioned ; its exact date is not certain, but we may safely put it down as of 1706 or 1707.

⁶ "One of my earliest inquiries was about time," letter to Johnson, 24 March 1730.

the conception of time as a sensation in the mind, and tried to disprove matter on the ground of the subjectivity of the secondary qualities.¹

To throw down this gauntlet required courage ; for most men then, as now, vaguely thought that matter and commonsense were inseparable. The learned were united in support of matter. Mathematicians held that geometry and the calculus postulate the infinite divisibility of matter ; physicists held that gravity is proportional to matter ; epistemologists held that perceptual theory requires the existence of matter. Churchmen held that the Church believes in matter. To deny its existence, or even to question it, was to stir up a hornets' nest. Great learning was required, too ; the immaterialist must be armed at all points ; for he has to answer objections drawn from mathematics, psychology, physics, epistemology, metaphysics, and religion.

Berkeley had the physical courage of youth ; he had the intellectual courage that marks the Protestant ; individualist by birth, accustomed to think for himself, jealous for private judgment, proud to stand alone, he was ready to question what his neighbour accepted. At eight years old he was "sceptical,"² he says ; no wonder he was sceptical about matter at eighteen. His intellectual endowments were exceptional ; he had acute perceptions, wide comprehension, a tenacious memory, and a pure love of learning. His mind moved with equal ease among the humanities of ancient Greece and Rome, among the abstractions of mathematics, and among the speculative principles of being, knowing, and action. His *alma mater*, too, deserves some credit for stimulating and directing the powers of her brilliant son. His university was in a ferment, politically and educationally, and the life Berkeley lived there, the friendships he formed, the contacts he made, and the books he read there gave direction, aim, and impetus to his native questing and spirit of adventure.

Can we mention specific influences at the university which led him to immaterialism ? There is no explaining away his originality ; we cannot account for his philosophy purely in terms of his reading ; but there is no doubt that two authors had special influence upon the shaping of his argument for immaterialism. These were Locke and Malebranche. Stock's *Life* says : "The airy visions of romances, to the reading of which he was much addicted, disgust at the books of metaphysicks then received in the university, and that inquisitive attention to the operations of

¹ see PC No. 265, with my note thereto.

² PC No. 266, *prima manu*.

the mind which about this time was excited by the writings of Mr. Locke and Father Malebranche, probably gave birth to his disbelief of the existence of matter." There is nothing in the first two reasons adduced. Berkeley's widow expressly traversed the statement about his being addicted to reading romances¹; the second reason is not on all fours with the third²; all normal students are at times impatient with the books prescribed, and biographers trade on that fact; but there is no evidence that Berkeley felt any general antipathy to the college courses, and if he had, how could immaterialism result?

The philosophy course which Berkeley read was distinctly modernist, as can be seen from his *Commentaries* and other early writings. No doubt there were scholastic survivals, like those ridiculed by Swift, but most of the authors read were contemporary or up to date. Dublin scholarship had been progressive from the last decade of the seventeenth century. Locke's *Essay* was on the course there within two years of its publication, years before it received general recognition in England. We have indeed a boyish letter from a student, John Shadwell, dated 26 September 1703, to his old teacher in England, which petulantly describes the Trinity College course as a farrago of conflicting hypotheses drawn from Aristotle, Descartes, Colbert, Epicurus, Gassendi, Malebranche, and Locke, with Plato making little show, and Bacon, Digby, and Boyle absent.³ But on reading between the lines of that letter we see that Berkeley read a liberal, representative course in philosophy that allowed liberty of thought and held the balance between ancient and modern learning.

The first part of Stock's statement may, therefore, be rejected; but the carefully phrased close of his sentence, quoted above, is true to fact, and may well have been one of the particulars contributed by Robert Berkeley, himself a scholar and philosopher who had trodden the same academic path. Berkeley's "inquisitive attention to the operations of the mind" had certainly been stimulated, if not aroused, by the writings of Locke and Malebranche, and that he had deliberately used their teaching in his earlier attempts at establishing immaterialism is made certain by the entry, "From Malbranch, Locke & my first arguings it can't be proved that extension is not in matter."⁴ Both writers had helped him on his way; but neither brought him to his goal; for his New Principle, *esse est percipi*, was his own

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd ed., vol. iii, Add. and Corrig. ² *Analecta Hibernica* (R.I.Acad.), No. ii, p. 74. ³ PC No. 263, with my note thereto.

discovery. If either of the two had set his feet on the road, it was Malebranche ; for Locke was a matterist *ex animo* ; but Malebranche was a matterist *under duress*, and in his excursus on *Tis very difficult to prove the existence of bodies*, he raises the question, Does matter exist ? , giving such foolish reasons for answering Yes that Berkeley might well conclude that the true answer was No.¹

¹ see PC Nos. 686, 800, with my notes thereto, and my *Berkeley and Malebranche*, pp. 58-61.

CHAPTER III

RESIDENT JUNIOR FELLOW

BERKELEY owed much to his *alma mater*, and showed himself sensible of the debt. His official connection with her work was long-continued, and at times close, and he remained in her service when the official connection ceased. He retained his fellowship for seventeen years, and was actively engaged in the work of the college for about half that period, viz. from June 1707 to January 1713, and from September 1721 to May 1724. He served both as Junior Fellow (elected 9 June 1707) and Senior Fellow (co-opted 13 July 1717). He took the university degrees as follows: B.A. in 1704 (24 February), M.A. in 1707 (grace passed 15 July), B.D. and D.D. in 1721 (both graces passed 14 November). He became a tutor, and pupils are recorded as entering under him from 1709 to 1714. He held at varying times the following annual offices, lectureships, and appointments: Librarian (20 November 1709), Junior Dean (20 November 1710, 20 November 1711), Junior Greek Lecturer (20 November 1712), Senior Greek Lecturer (resigned 21 November 1721; presumably he had held it on a temporary appointment since the beginning of the term), Divinity Lecturer and Preacher (20 November 1721), Senior Proctor (20 November 1722, 20 November 1723), Hebrew Lecturer (14 June 1723, 20 November 1723).¹ He was presented to the college livings of Ardtrea and Arboe on 4 April 1724; but the presentation was either *pro forma* or was declined; for twelve days later the presentation was transferred to the Lord Lieutenant "upon Dr. Berkeley's being made Dean of Derry." This curious-looking incident is fully cleared up in one of Berkeley's letters. The Lord Lieutenant was hesitating between Berkeley and other candidates for the Deanery, and the college turned the scale in Berkeley's favour by making over to the Crown the piece of patronage, worth £700 per annum.² On 25 April he resigned the office of Senior Greek Lecturer,³ and on 18 May

¹ 20 November was the statutory date for appointing to the annual offices, etc., and remained so till recent times. ² Rand *B&P*, p. 217 ³ I find no record of his appointment.

1724, having been meanwhile installed as Dean of Derry, he sent his resignation of his Senior Fellowship to the Provost, and it was accepted on the following day.

When Berkeley was on leave of absence he still kept in touch with the college, and college business in London was entrusted to him. Through Synge, Helsham, Clayton, and later his brother Robert, he knew what was going on in college, and was influential there in his absence. The Bermuda enterprise was at first warmly taken up by his colleagues, and if St. Paul's College, Bermuda, had been built it would have been a Trinity College in the New World, in large measure staffed from Dublin University and modelled on her constitution. In May 1733 Berkeley met Dr. King, a Senior Fellow, who on behalf of the governing body had come across to London to apply for a new library statute. They discussed the matter, and Berkeley pointed out the danger attending such applications, viz. that the Government would take advantage of it, and impose some injurious restriction or condition.¹ In 1734 Berkeley presented a fount of Greek type to the newly established printing press in college (see below, p. 159), and about the same time he began to present annually the Berkeley gold medals for Greek, endowing them in 1752 in perpetuity. As Bishop of Cloyne he was of service to the college in respect of the college estates in his diocese, and letters of his to college officers are extant. In 1741 he was mentioned for the Vice-Chancellorship, but declined to let his name go forward, and at a vacancy in the Provostship he exerted himself to secure the election of the most worthy candidate.²

From this survey of the long connection between Berkeley and his college we come to his first years as a resident Junior Fellow, the years that made his name, the years of his famous books. We shall be chiefly occupied with those books, but first we must deal with the appointments he held and his official work.

The obligation to take Holy Orders was statutory, and Berkeley complied with it, we may be sure, *con amore*; for he was a sincere believer in Christianity and a convinced Churchman who disapproved of the Roman system,³ who tolerated dissent, but disliked it,⁴ and who was to lead an attack on deism and "free-thinking." His earliest extant sermon was preached in the college chapel on Sunday evening 11 January 1708, while he was still

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 289. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 314; *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii, pp. 42-3. ³ see *PG* Nos. 350, 720, and his letter to James below, p. 112. ⁴ Sermon on Zeal, *Hermathena*, vol. xxii, especially pp. 20-28.

a layman. This was one of those discourses, called "common-places," which resident masters, both clerical and lay, were required to deliver. Berkeley discusses life and immortality in an academic vein; the sermon has some interesting points of contact with his *Philosophical Commentaries*, and is noteworthy for its very free use of the argument of "Pascal's Wager," viz.: "Sure I am no man can say he has two to one odds on the contrary side. But when life and immortality are at stake, we should play our part with fear and trembling, though 'twere an hundred to one but we are cheated in the end."

Berkeley was made a deacon on 19 February 1709,¹ being ordained in the college chapel by Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, an ex-Provost. In the spring of the following year he was ordained priest in the same place, and by the same hands. The latter ordination had a striking sequel; for shortly afterwards King, the Archbishop of Dublin, ordered him to be prosecuted in his court for receiving irregular ordination, the Bishop of Clogher having no right to ordain in the diocese of Dublin without the licence of the diocesan. Berkeley wrote a dignified letter of apology to the Archbishop, dated 18 April 1710²; he says that he was obliged by the statutes to take priest's orders, and naturally sought them from the Bishop of Clogher, who was Vice-Chancellor of the University; it was not for him (Berkeley) to question the grounds of the Bishop's action, but his request could not be fairly interpreted as an "encroaching on Your Grace's authority, which I never meant to lessen or dispute." He adds that the Dean of St. Patrick's (Dr. Stearne) had suspended the prosecution, and that he himself had undertaken not to perform any ecclesiastical function in the Dublin diocese without licence from the Archbishop.

William King, author of *De origine mali* (1702), Bishop of Derry (1691) and Archbishop of Dublin (1703-29), was a far-sighted and strong-minded ecclesiastic to whom the Church of Ireland to this day is immeasurably indebted. He developed the church life of greater Dublin, building churches, dividing parishes, and reforming abuses. An *imperium in imperio*, such as a college chapel with extra-territorial rights, was to his orderly mind an abuse not to be tolerated. Bishop Ashe as an ex-Provost and Vice-Chancellor may have felt himself a privileged person in college, and no doubt did not see the impropriety of conducting ordinations in another's diocese. The incident did not reflect in any way on Berkeley,

¹ Brady, Records, vol. iii, p. 116. ² Extant ALS in King Papers, Trinity College, Dublin, published by C. S. King, *A great Archbishop of Dublin*, p. 121.

who was the victim of a trial of strength between the university and the Archbishop.

King was not an enemy of the college or of Berkeley. He was a broad-minded man, who endowed the divinity lectureship (now a professorship), which still bears his name, and which Berkeley himself held for a short while. But the two philosophers differed in politics and in speculative matters. King was a north-country Whig, and Berkeley was a south-country Conservative. King was a party man; Berkeley was not. Berkeley was loyal to Crown and Church, and had a deal of the Tory in him; but he had the name of not having declared himself in party politics; he drank Percival's health (*B&P*, p. 74) and Dr. Sacheverell's together. In things of the mind King and Berkeley differed gravely. King criticized Berkeley's *Essay on Vision*, and Berkeley criticized King's *De origine mali*.¹ Those differences were for the most part on technical points; but there was a very concrete and serious point at issue between them with regard to man's knowledge of God. King had been forced by the heat of the Predestination controversy into an untenable theology. Calvinist and Arminian had drawn tight the Gordian knot about fore-knowledge; King cut it by denying that God *knows* in the human sense of that word. His famous sermon of 15 May 1709 on the divine fore-knowledge is in many respects a masterpiece of deep thought and clear expression, and Whateley gave it unstinted praise; but in it King virtually says that God no more has thought and will than He has hands and feet. Berkeley knew the passage, and was surprised and shocked at it, and comments on it to Percival (*B&P*, p. 73). King's deity is only to be known analogically, and is practically an unknown God far, far away; whereas the God of the Berkeleyian metaphysic is omnipresent, immediately operative in nature around us, and intimately present to our consciousness.

Berkeley took his ecclesiastical duties seriously; he must often have given his services in the college chapel both as preacher and reader, and it came natural to him to close the first of his *Three Dialogues* on the note:

PHIL. Hark; is not this the college bell?

HYL. It rings for prayers.

Several of his sermons survive, on which something may here be said. The earliest (after the commonplace discussed above, p. 42) is on the text, Let your zeal be according to knowledge.²

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 72, and *PC* Nos. 141-44, 156-59, where see my notes.

² Published by me, *Hermathena*, vol. xxii, pp. 16-28.

Its style is immature, but it argues well that religious zeal (to remain religious) should not be directed against persons, but should attach to good works, and to the faith and discipline. He declares incidentally for the primitive faith and order, for the sacraments, for apostolic institutions, and the historic episcopate. His sermon before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel on his return from America is dealt with below (p. 154). For philosophers the most important of his sermons are the three discourses put together to form *Passive Obedience*, and these I treat below (p. 52). Of his manuscript sermons published in recent years the finest is that on the Will of God, preached at Cloyne on Whitsun Day, 1751.¹ He preached a sermon on the Mystery of godliness (1 Timothy iii 16) in King's Chapel, Boston, on 12 September 1731, which was described by a member of the congregation as "a fine sermon."² At least two sermons of his on that text survive in manuscript, and have been published by J. Wild (*George Berkeley*, Appendix). Most of his extant sermons are well phrased and well constructed; but they are rather academic in tone, and there is little to show that he was ever a great or a moving preacher.

Berkeley's other duties were tutorial and administrative with perhaps a little lecturing; but the work was light, and could not (fortunately for posterity) have occupied much of his time. There is no record of his appointment as tutor, but the Entrance Book names seven of his pupils, viz. Bligh (1709), Bosquat, Coote, and Eccles (1710), Dawson and Tisdall (1712), and Wall (1714). According to Stock's *Life*, Samuel Molyneux was one of his pupils, and the Dedication of the *Miscellanea Mathematica* implies that Berkeley had taught him; but probably it was a case of private tuition, not official tutorship. His first recorded lecturing appointment was as Junior Greek Lecturer at the end of 1712, but as he left for London five weeks after the appointment, he may not even have begun that course. Fraser says³ that he was nominated sub-lecturer in 1710, but I can find no confirmation of that statement in the Register.

The two offices he held, Librarian and Junior Dean, are of some interest. The library was small and the books few, but it was the eve of better things; and plans for the great new library which was shortly to be built must have been discussed already then. His experience as Librarian stood to him later in life when he was to donate books on a large scale to Yale and

¹ *ib.* pp. 29-40; in the introductory discussion I gave the date as 1752 instead of 1751, having misread the figure on the MS. ² see below, p. 150. ³ *LL*, p. 51.

Harvard, and to suggest rules for their safety, and he clearly studied the shelves of the Harvard library with a practised eye. His appointment as Junior Dean (repeated for a second year) should be sufficient to dispose of the legend that he was a dreamy visionary walking the college quad with head in the clouds. Men of that type are not placed in charge of college discipline in Irish colleges. And those were uneasy days in Dublin. Political feeling ran high, and the political parties were evenly balanced. In the Parliamentary election there in 1713 the two Whig candidates polled 1784 votes and 1778 votes respectively, and the figures for their Tory opponents were 1654 and 1622 respectively. There was a similar division in the college where party feeling had been brought to white heat by the Forbes case, - a *cause célèbre*. Forbes, a Scottish Jacobite, graduated B.A. in 1705, and M.A. in 1708. After the latter ceremony Forbes made a speech that gave great offence by comparing King William to Balfe, a highwayman who had been hanged in St. Stephen's Green. Few, if any, of his hearers would have approved the speech; but some of the more advanced Tories might have enjoyed the consternation of the Whigs. Forbes was deprived of his degrees. The case agitated the college for years, and had repercussions in London. So late as 1714 a brief of the case was sent to the Lord Lieutenant by a Junior Fellow, named French, and in his covering letter French speaks of "the disputes and troubles that have for some years past disturbed the peace & quiet of the College, and (I may say) almost ruined the discipline & reputation of this once flourishing & well-governed society."¹ Even if French's statement be somewhat overdrawn, still the years in which Berkeley was charged with responsibility for college discipline were difficult enough, and that he had considerable success as a disciplinarian in his first year of duty may be gathered from the Board's minute of 20 November 1711, which "allowed Mr. Berkely twelve pounds for his care in discharging the office of Junior Dean."

Berkeley's first years as a fellow are of chief significance for the books he wrote then. This was his golden period of authorship; his invention and his speculative powers were then at their height, and in those years he wrote three masterpieces, any one of which would assure him a place among the leaders of thought, viz. *An essay towards a new theory of vision* (Dublin, 1709, with a second edition in the same year), *A treatise concerning the principles of human knowledge*, Part I (Dublin, May 1710); and *Three Dialogues between*

¹ E. H. Alton, *Some Fragments of College History* (repr. from *Hermathena*, 1941), p. 37.

Hylas and Philonous (London, May 1713), with a fourth work, *Passive Obedience . . .* (Dublin and London, 1712, with a second edition in the same year, and a third in the year following), which is an important contribution to ethics and political theory.

The *Essay on Vision* as a work on the psychology of optics may be considered apart, and may stand on its own feet; but by origin and in its deeper aspects it is inseparable from the *Principles*; and when, as Berkeley bade, we consider "the design and connection" of his works, we should see the *Essay on Vision* as a preparatory and exploratory study containing a partial disclosure of immaterialism, the *Principles* as the complete, final, and authoritative statement of the immaterialist theory, with the *Three Dialogues* as a sequel saying the same thing in a more vivid, popular, and picturesque way.

Berkeley's general aim is to refute material substance, a supposed non-spiritual substrate of the things we touch and see; that is the matter he denies; he does not deny the world of sense; and only those who can see the difference are competent to judge his philosophy.

The *Principles* was launched "after a long and scrupulous inquiry."¹ The argument in general had been in his mind for five or six years, and his manuscripts testify to the scrupulous care he bestowed on its detail.² The *Essay on Vision* was on the stocks along with the *Principles*, and important preliminary work for both books was done in that pair of notebooks, now in one volume in the British Museum (Add. MS. 39305), which A. C. Fraser found and published in his 1871 edition under the title *Commonplace Book of occasional Metaphysical Thoughts*, and which I have renamed in my 1944 edition *Philosophical Commentaries*. As an intimate revelation of an author's thoughts, this work is perhaps unique in philosophical literature, and its importance for the interpretation and genetic study of Berkeley's publications can hardly be overstated.

Berkeley began to fill one of these notebooks probably in the summer of 1707, soon after his election to fellowship; the second was begun, it seems, before the first was quite finished, and both

¹ Preface; cf. "the opinion of matter I have entertained some years," Rand, *B&P*, p. 83. ² The Chapman manuscript (D 5 17 in the Library, Trinity College, Dublin) is a notebook of his which shows him shaping and revising the Introduction with amazing care; he even dates each day's piece of work. Another notebook of his, in the British Museum (Add. MS. 39304), contains a draft of the latter half of the *Principles*, containing interesting variants and corrections; see Jessop and Luce, *Bibliography of George Berkeley*, pp. 81, 90.

were complete by the late summer or early autumn of 1708. The entries, for the most part, represent work done considerably earlier, and may well have been in their inception systematic comments on a draft study of immaterialism, written before he won fellowship, and before he discovered his New Principle.¹

The *Principles* came out as Part I, and it was intended to be followed by a Part II on psychology and ethics, and by a Part III on natural philosophy. Part II was begun and considerable progress made, but the manuscript was lost in Italy, and Berkeley never went further with the design.²

Now why should a young immaterialist trying to prove his case burden himself with a study of vision? The answer is partly that there was at the time a felt need for a new theory of vision owing to the general use then beginning to be made of spectacles, telescopes, and microscopes.³ But the more direct reason is given by Berkeley himself in the *Principles* (S 43). The visible world is generally taken as an argument for a material world; we *see* the outside world, says commonsense; therefore there is a world and it is outside. Berkeley meets the objection by an accurate account of the object seen, distinguishing between what we actually see, modes of light and colour, and what we think we see, or infer. The Essay on Vision makes a radical distinction between the objects of sight and objects of touch; it takes the visible into the mind, and leaves the tangible outside the mind, and in one or two passages almost suggests that the tangible world is the material world. Thus it forms a half-way house on the road to immaterialism, answering objections urged by matterists, yet retaining matter, if in the background.

The *Principles* is the complete and final expression of Berkeley's immaterialism; it takes precedence over all his other philosophical writings, and he never withdrew or modified the views expressed therein. Its argument is direct and clear, and strong as hammered steel; its language is the vernacular, terse, nervous everyday speech, which for the most part fits the argument like a glove. The *Principles* refutes abstract ideas and bids us contact concrete reality. It sets before the reader the factors in the concrete situation we call perception, and shows that there is simply no need for matter in that situation, or room for it. When a man per-

¹ For full discussion see Introduction to my edition. ² Letter to Johnson, 25 November 1729; cf. *Three Dialogs*, Preface. ³ Molynseux's *Dioptrics*, one of Berkeley's important sources for optics, repeatedly desiderates a fuller knowledge of visual theory.

ceives, i.e. when he sees, touches, hears, tastes, or smells, there are two finite factors and two only, the active subject, myself or yourself, and the related object, be it colour, shape, roughness, sound, smell, etc. ; and the supposed material object over and above the actually perceived object is an irrelevancy. The supposed "absolute existence" of sensible things is a meaningless phrase ; for when you ask what the term *existence* means when applied to sensible things, you see that it necessarily implies a relation, actual or possible, to perception ; that is Berkeley's New Principle, *esse est percipi*. The infinite factor in perception is the infinite Spirit or God, required as the cause of change, the home of the perceivable, and the substance of the perceived. A long list of objections is drawn up ; each is fairly stated and clearly answered ; and the appropriate doctrines of God, the soul, nature, cause, and reality are sufficiently indicated.

The *Principles* is no *Summa*, and does not pretend to be ; but it gives a very thorough and complete refutation of material substance ; it has never been answered except by misrepresentation and ridicule.

Here I must pause to introduce Sir John Percival, in whose correspondence with Berkeley we find a vivid picture of the reception accorded to the books by the London wits. Sir John Percival, later to be Viscount Percival and the first Earl of Egmont, was born at Burton, Co. Cork, on 12 July 1683, and by the untimely deaths of his father and elder brother he succeeded to the title and the estates in 1691. His father had served under Cromwell in Ireland ; his mother was Catherine, fourth daughter of Sir Edward Dering. He was educated at Westminster School and Magdalen College, Oxford. After a continental tour he came to Ireland in 1708 to visit his estates near Mallow. In the autumn of that year he and Berkeley met in Dublin. They may have met at the house of the Derings¹ or through Archdeacon Percival, to whom the university gave an honorary degree for his services in defence of their franchise. The two young men at once formed an intimate friendship, which lasted for life, and gave rise to a correspondence that in size and importance equals that with Prior. Berkeley dedicated the *Essay on Vision* to his friend. Percival was a public-spirited landlord, and in his younger days he showed a distinct sympathy with Irish nationalism. As Member of Parliament at Westminster, he had a distinguished record of public service on philanthropic boards and committees. He made the

¹ Mentioned in the *PG* Nos. 127, 201.

collection of documents and letters, now known as the Egmont Papers, as material for the family history, *A Genealogical History of the House of Yvery* (1742). He kept copies of his own letters and of Berkeley's letters, and some originals. On one of the earliest letters to mention Berkeley he has written, "Mr. Berkeley, fellow of Dublin College, now Bishop of Cloyne 1736. A man of the noblest virtues, best learning I ever knew." The feeling was warmly reciprocated.

The earlier part of their correspondence is of peculiar interest. Here we find Lady Percival objecting that to abolish matter is to destroy the Mosaic account of creation, with Berkeley's answer. Here we see Berkeley "a sort of monk or recluse in a College" taking his solitary walk to Donnycarney in the northern suburbs of Dublin, visiting the Percival children and reporting on them to their absent parents. Little Miss has two teeth in sight and is "grown a very charming and conversible lady"; while little Esquire called himself "brave boy" and played on the fiddle. Here we read the following important statement on the two books: "The bookseller who printed the *Essay on Vision* imagining he had printed too few, retarded the publication of it on that side the water till he had finished this second edition. . . . I have made some alterations and additions in the body of the treatise, and in an appendix have endeavoured to answer the objections of the Archbishop of Dublin. There still remains one objection with regard to the uselessness of that book; but in a little time I hope to make what is there laid down appear subservient to the ends of morality and religion in a treatise I have now in the press, the design of which is to demonstrate the existence and attributes of God, the immortality of the soul, the reconciliation of God's fore-knowledge with freedom of men, and by shewing the emptiness and falseness of several parts of the speculative sciences, to reduce men to the study of religion and things useful."¹

On 29 June 1710 Berkeley writes to Percival that the *Principles* is "out," asking him to convey a copy to the Earl of Pembroke, to whom it is dedicated. Later he asks for London opinions on the book. These were not favourable. Percival reports (26 August 1710) that his friends ridicule the book, but will not read it. "A physician of my acquaintance undertook to describe your person, and argued you must needs be mad, and that you ought to take remedies. A bishop pitied you that a desire and vanity

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 72-73, 83, 99, 101.

of starting something new should put you on such an undertaking. . . . Another told me an ingenious man ought not to be discouraged from exercising his wit . . . you are not gone so far as a gentleman in town who asserts not only that there is no such thing as matter but that we have no being at all." ¹ Thus London at the outset voiced the sorry sentiments of those who for more than two hundred years have preferred rather to condemn than to understand, who would rather mock Berkeley than read him.

Berkeley wrote a long, noble, and dignified reply. He begs Percival as a matter of policy not to tell his friends that the book denies the existence of matter ; for " whatever doctrine contradicts vulgar and settled opinion had need been introduced with great caution into the world. For this reason it was I omitted all mention of the non-existence of matter in the title-page, dedication, preface, and introduction, that so the notion might steal unawares on the reader, who possibly would never have meddled with a book that he had known contained such paradoxes." He denies that his motive was vanity or a love of novelty ; truth, not vanity, had made him write ; had it been otherwise, he would have rushed into print " when the conceit was warm in my imagination " ; whereas he had spent years examining and revising the hypothesis. Then comes a paragraph that should be pasted into every book on Berkeley's philosophy, " Whoever reads my book with due attention will plainly see that there is a direct opposition betwixt the principles contained in it and those of the sceptics, and that I question not the existence of anything that we perceive by our senses." ²

The Earl of Pembroke on receiving his presentation copy of the *Principles* sent his thanks, adding " you were an ingenious man and ought to be encouraged, but that he could not be convinced of the non-existence of matter." Berkeley tried to draw him into correspondence about it, but without success.³

Dr. Samuel Clarke, the Rector of St. James's, and Mr. Whiston, an unorthodox divine, both read the book and exchanged notes about it ; " they think you are a fair arguer and a clear writer, but they say your first principles you lay down are false . . . ranking you with Father Malebranche, Norris, and another whose name I have forgot." ⁴ Berkeley then wrote to them both for their detailed objections, but they refused to be drawn.

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 80-81. ² *ib.*, pp. 81ff. ³ They became close friends later, see below, p. 57. Locke's *Essay* also was dedicated to Pembroke. ⁴ Rand, *B&P*, p. 87 ; cf. Whiston, *Memoirs of Dr. Clarke*, pp. 79-81, quoted by Stock's *Life*.

The reception accorded to his book had been disappointing in the extreme, but Berkeley did not lose heart. Undeterred by the silence of his few readers and the ridicule cast on "the name" of his book¹ by non-readers, he set himself to present the case for immaterialism in a new light and in a new literary form. He dramatized the piece, placing the arguments for material substance in the mouth of Hylas, the matterist, and answering them himself in the person of Philonous, the lover of mind. *The Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* is literature as well as philosophy, a work of art as well as a work of thought, and is worthy in both respects to stand beside the Platonic dialogues on which it is modelled. It covers almost all the ground covered by the *Principles*, stressing points of popular appeal, but not repeating all the detail of the argument. For instance, the relativity of the sensible qualities is argued vividly and at great length in the first dialogue, but the refutation of abstract ideas is throughout assumed, rather than re-argued. Nothing of any importance is added, unless the discussions of the Creation and of identity in the third dialogue are to be so regarded. Berkeley took the manuscript of the work with him to London in January 1713, and it was published there in the following May.²

The fourth work of this period, *Passive Obedience*, though overshadowed by the other three, is by no means to be treated lightly, especially in a biography. Philosophers to-day are inclined to brush it aside as a slight work on ethics, of some interest for its "theological utilitarianism"; but its ethics is incidental to its politics, and it claims our attention as a political tract of great topical interest, which went through three editions within a year or so, and which displays Berkeley's political views and the courage that led him to risk his career and apply principle to a political question, then of the first magnitude.

The pamphlet is a fusion of three sermons preached in 1712 by Berkeley in the college chapel; their purport had been misrepresented, and Berkeley published them to dispel suspicion. Later, it is said by Stock, the Prince and Princess of Wales, having heard of Berkeley through his former pupil, Samuel Molyneux, recommended him to Lord Galway for preferment in the Irish Church. "But Lord Galway, having heard of those sermons, represented him as a Jacobite; an impression which Mr. Molyneux . . . took care to remove from the minds of their high-

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 81. ² A second edition appeared in 1725, and a third, revised, in 1734 with the second edition of the *Principles*.

nesses by producing the work in question, and shewing that it contained nothing but principles of loyalty to the present happy establishment."

Passive Obedience was a Tory doctrine, obnoxious to Whigs ; it was a doctrine of restricted allegiance, such as is forced on folk, in times of change and unrest.¹ No government could expect the support of all its subjects in all its measures ; we may differ seriously from a government that in general we accept, and in such cases loyalty does not demand co-operation ; a man is loyal to the government, provided he does not oppose it ; he may even refuse to comply with orders and still be loyal, provided he accepts patiently the legal penalty for non-compliance (*Pass. Obed.* 3). Such obedience is passive. Is it obedience ?

These were burning questions of the hour. Berkeley was preaching only three years before the Old Pretender's rebellion. The problems involved wore a different complexion according as you looked back or looked ahead. A Government official, listening to Berkeley, would lean back in his pew and smile complacently on hearing from the pulpit the Pauline doctrine of absolute obedience ; but he would have sat up and felt uncomfortable had the preacher gone on to apply the doctrine retrospectively—which would be equivalent to saying, By what right did you refuse obedience and rebel thirty years ago ? This was no abstract question. Everyone from highest to lowest was concerned. Property was at stake ; loyalty to sovereign, country, and church were involved. Every eye in College Chapel was turned on the young preacher ; every ear was strained to catch each syllable of his text, " Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God " (Rom. xiii. 2). The discourses should be read in the light of Berkeley's striking letter to Percival (*B&P*, pp. 61-64), where (1) he denies that there is any practical difference between the king *de facto* and the king *de jure*, (2) he affirms that the king's right does not consist in birth-right *per se*, but " in the consent and acquiescence of the people," and (3) he states in terms that it is *wickedness* to try to introduce " the family of the Stewarts."

Berkeley's thesis is uncompromising, and yet very reasonable : " I shall endeavour to prove that there is an absolute unlimited non-resistance, or passive obedience, due to the supreme civil

¹ In 1710 Dr. Sacheverell had preached sermons on the sister doctrine of non-resistance ; cf. the Bishop of Worcester to King (June 1710), " Mr Lessley yt came hither out of Ireland. . . . At present he is writing amain agst Dr Sach's fals brethren, against us yt are not stark mad for ye doctrines of non-resistance & passive obedience," C. S. King, *A great Archbishop of Dublin*, p. 124.

power." The opposite is rebellion. Not the greatest good, not the avoidance of the greatest evil, can justify the least violation of the prohibition, Thou shalt not resist the supreme power. These propositions, for Berkeley, are rational deductions from the fact that the laws of nature are laws of God (*Princ.* SS 30-32). Either God has established universal laws of right and wrong, directed towards the well-being of mankind, or He has left it to each individual to find out his duty for himself on each particular occasion. The second alternative is impossible, Berkeley thinks ; it would lead to moral anarchy, utter individualism, and the negation of law and order. Along these lines he establishes loyalty as "a moral duty or branch of natural religion." But he goes on to show the other side of the question ; for the principle of absolute submission taken by itself would appear to conflict with our common moral sense, with the facts of history, and the liberty of the subject, and he voices the difficulty in the words, "What ! Must we then submit our necks to the sword ? And is there no help, no refuge, against extreme tyranny established by law ?" Berkeley replies that extreme cases prove, not the right of disobedience, but the duty of examining the claim of a power to be the supreme power. Tyranny is not the supreme power established by God, and cruel, unnatural decrees ought not to be enforced by subordinates or obeyed.

Some might find the two parts of Berkeley's thesis rather difficult to reconcile, and to assist them Berkeley adds in the third edition a very interesting section (53). Here he argues that the immutable moral laws from which his argument starts are regulative, like the laws of geometry. A triangle measured in the field would not come up to the strict requirements of Euclid, but the universality of geometrical law is not compromised thereby. Just so, the universality of the moral law of non-resistance is not compromised by the fact that "it does not reach a man's practice in all cases where a government is unhinged, or the supreme power disputed." In plain words, Berkeley puts it absolutely on a man's conscience to obey the law in all ordinary cases, but he leaves room for the right and duty of revolt in extreme cases of confessed tyranny.

Thus with four books in five years the foundation of Berkeley's fame, philosophical and literary, had been laid ; and though these were years of comparative obscurity, even yet his name was beginning to be known in London and on the Continent. His *Essay on Vision* had been reviewed at length in Leclerc's *Bibliothèque*

Choisie, vol. xxii, 1711, pp. 58-88. His *Three Dialogues* was reviewed in *Journal Littéraire*, La Haye, vol. i (1715), art. 14, pp. 147-60; and Leibniz must have known directly, or at second hand, of his *Principles*, for in March 1715 he wrote ¹ to Des Bosses of "Qui in Hibernia corporum realitatem impugnat. . . ."

¹ ed. Erdmann, Part I, p. 726.

CHAPTER IV

WITH THE LONDON WITS

LEAVING Ireland for the first time early in January 1713, Berkeley made his way to London, spending a fortnight *en route*. He went by Holyhead, Chester, and Coventry. At Chester he stayed some days. In the early stages of the journey the roads were tolerable ; from Coventry on they were very bad. On arrival in London he lodged in the same house as the Provost and Mr. Molyneux. The English countryside delighted him, but the towns fell short of his expectations ; " even London itself seems to exceed Dublin not so much in the stateliness or beauty of its buildings as in extent." ¹

Berkeley went to England to benefit his health, to publish his book, to broaden his mind, and to meet " men of merit " ; he denies that he went to secure his own advancement. He was on leave of absence from the college, as the Register for 9 March and 11 May records, and he originally intended to be away for a few months only. But his stay was prolonged ; to grant the required exemption would strain the powers of the college ; and finding himself put to the trouble and expense of procuring a Queen's Letter covering two years, he decided to take full advantage of it. Then came the offer of a trip to Sicily, and at short notice he was launched on his continental travels and the Grand Tour. For eight years, save for a brief visit in 1715, he was out of Ireland. There was no break with the college all that time. His small emoluments as fellow were paid, and he was co-opted Senior Fellow when he was in Italy. There was some murmuring at his long absence, but the college then was comparatively small and adequately staffed, and his services were not urgently required.

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 104 ; see also pp. 116, 124-27, 144. The royal letters continuing the leave of absence, each for a two-year period, are in the library of Trinity College. Their dates are 9 September 1713 and 1715, 17 August 1717, 6 May 1719 and 1721. All the royal letters except the last give improvement in learning as the reason for Berkeley's absence ; and all except the second give as an additional reason the recovery of health. Bolingbroke, Carteret, and Addison are among the signatories. Fraser mistakenly asserts a visit to England in 1712 (*LL*, p. 52).

His reception by the London wits was remarkable. He came and saw and conquered. London society in those days was like a large club, free to all who could talk or write. Berkeley could do both, and almost at once he attracted a wide circle of influential friends. His personality and his pen were irresistible. Himself one of the "moderate sort of men," he was at home with Whig and Tory. He had already published four books, and he had the manuscript of a fifth in his pocket. The first news that met him on his arrival in London was that Richard Steele, who had a copy of the *Principles*, desired his acquaintance. Sir John Percival's friends and relatives, the Derings, Southwells, and Clerkes, called at once and showed him hospitality. He was introduced by Southwell to the patron of the *Principles*, the Earl of Pembroke, who had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and had landed interests in Dublin. The Earl was a liberal patron of philosophy and science, and he and Berkeley became close friends and correspondents. On the Continent Berkeley executed book commissions for the Earl, and later the Earl supported the Bermuda scheme, and advised upon it.

The first ten months of this year form the most colourful period of Berkeley's life. All that time he was moving among distinguished men and making his mark by his talents, his social charm, and force of character. His letters to Percival from London are full, lively, and picturesque; in his essays in the *Guardian* we see his philosophic mind coming to grips with the practical problems of religion; we see him through the eyes of others; we find him in Swift's journal, and in Pope's correspondence and verse. There he is at Court with Swift, in the theatre with Addison, in the coffee-houses with the wits, in Oxford colleges with Smalridge, breakfasting with Swift and Addison, or dining two or three times a week with Lord Berkeley of Stratton.¹

Of outward events there is little to record. One of Berkeley's first tasks was to publish his *Three Dialogues*. No time was lost; the book was printed and, apparently, published in May, and a copy went to Percival on 2 June. The work was dedicated to Lord Berkeley of Stratton to whom Swift had introduced his namesake (and, almost certainly, kinsman²). It had a greater success than the *Principles*, and undoubtedly made an impression.

¹ His letters went to Pall Mall Coffee-house in Pall Mall; whether he continued to lodge in the same house as the Provost is not stated. ² see above, p. 23.

Percival, who was no philosopher, writes from Dublin that he has read it through and through, and "am much more of your opinion than I was before"; he hears "that your opinion has gained ground among the learned; that Mr. Addison is come over to you; and now what seemed shocking at first is become so familiar that others envy you the discovery, and make it their own."¹ Berkeley in reply says that there is no dispute as to his being the originator of immaterialism, and that there is nothing to "give ground for that report, unless it be that a clergyman of Wiltshire has lately put forth a treatise wherein he advances something which had been published three years before in my *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*."² This is Berkeley's only reference to *Clavis Universalis*, published in 1713 by Arthur Collier, Rector of Langford Magna, Wilts, which denies the existence of the external world. Collier does not mention Berkeley, but I am inclined to think he had read both the Essay on Vision and the *Principles*³; his diction and method have a scholastic flavour, and he could not have been closely dependent on Berkeley; but his statement in his Introduction that he had waited ten years before publishing his views may be a tacit admission that he had read Berkeley, coupled with a claim to have come on the notion independently (as he may well have done through his close reading of Malebranche).

Of Berkeley's new friends we must now speak, and, first, of Addison. Berkeley calls him "a great philosopher," and says they had discussed immaterialism together, but does not claim him as a convert. They may have met in Dublin; for Addison was secretary⁴ to Lord Wharton, who was Lord Lieutenant in 1709. In London they soon (by 23 February) met; no doubt, at Steele's house; and on 27 March Berkeley breakfasts with him at Swift's lodging. Addison was a close friend of Steele, in spite of occasional differences; he contributed to the *Tatler* and the *Guardian*, and with Steele produced the *Spectator*. Berkeley finds Addison "more earnest in the Whig cause than Mr. Steele."⁵ From Stock's *Life* we learn that Addison told Berkeley that Dr. Garth in his last illness refused the consolations of religion on the ground that Dr. Halley (p. 164 below) had convinced him that Christianity was an imposture, and that Addison arranged a discussion between

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 117, 120. ² *ib.*, p. 118. ³ e.g. "This moon, as being truly perceived, truly exists," *Clavis*, Part I, 1. ⁴ Addison's Walk, a yew walk, is still pointed out in the botanic gardens at Glasnevin, Dublin; see also Rand, *B&P*, pp. 111, 118. ⁵ *ib.*, p. 111.

Berkeley and Dr. Samuel Clarke,¹ which took place in the presence of Queen Caroline, but proved fruitless.

Addison's hymns, "The spacious firmament" and "When all thy mercies," point to a religious outlook very similar to that of Berkeley's, and Stock speaks of the two men together as "both those excellent advocates for revealed religion."

Berkeley was with Addison in the theatre on the "first night" of *Cato*, and has left a spirited description: "On Tuesday last Mr Addison's play entitled *Cato* was acted the first time. I am informed the front boxes were all bespoke for nine days, a fortnight before the play was acted. I was present with Mr Addison and two or three more friends in a side box where we had a table and two or three flasks of burgundy and champagne, with which the author (who is a very sober man) thought it necessary to support his spirits in the concern he was then under; and indeed it was a pleasant refreshment to us all between the acts. He has performed a very difficult task with great success, having introduced the noblest ideas of virtue and religion upon the stage with the greatest applause, and in the fullest audience that was ever known. . . . Some parts of the prologue, which were written by Mr Pope, a Tory and even a Papist, were hissed, being thought to savour of Whiggism, but the clap got much [the better of] the hiss."² Three weeks later Berkeley writes that the play has taken wonderfully, and has been acted for almost a month.

Through Steele Berkeley soon made the acquaintance of Pope. This was a lasting friendship, founded on mutual appreciation of the other's taste and talent, as well as on personal liking. From the Continent Berkeley writes Pope complimentary letters on the *Rape of the Lock* and on his *Iliad*, and a long description of the island of Inarime.³ In a letter of Pope's, probably written in the spring of 1721, we see the two friends going to spend a week together at the Twickenham "Tusculum." Through Pope Berkeley met the Earl of Burlington and Cork, who in turn introduced him to the Duke of Grafton, who was later to make him the Dean of Derry.⁴ Pope writes to Swift on 15 October 1725, "Dean Berkeley is well and happy in the prosecution of his scheme," and ten years or so later Bishop Secker writes to Berkeley, "Your friend, Mr Pope, is publishing small poems every now and then." Pope originally included an address to our Lord in his *Essay on Man*, but omitted it on Berkeley's advice, and every

¹ Famous Rector of St. James's, author of *The Being and Attributes of God* (1704-5).

² Rand, *B&P*, pp. 113-14. ³ Fraser, *LL*, pp. 70, 72, 82. ⁴ *ib.*, p. 91.

one in those days knew Pope's lines which bring together four bishops, friends of his and of one another :

Ev'n in a bishop I can spy desert,
Secker is decent, Rundel has a heart ;
Manners with candour are to Benson giv'n,
To Berkley ev'ry virtue under heav'n.¹

Arbuthnot, "the beloved physician," a leading London wit, was Berkeley's "first proselyte." He was a member of the Brothers Club, which consisted of nine lords and ten commoners, and was founded in June 1711 "to advance conversation and friendship, and obtain patronage for deserving persons." Berkeley tells Percival (*B&P*, p. 114 ; cf. pp. 121, 123) that Arbuthnot "is the Queen's domestic physician, and in great esteem with the whole court. Nor is he less valuable for his learning, being a great philosopher, and reckoned among the first mathematicians of the age." Percival hears that Swift has said that Arbuthnot was *not* a convert, and Berkeley replies that while they do not see eye to eye about the laws of nature, about material substance, Arbuthnot "has acknowledged he can object nothing." Berkeley wrote to Arbuthnot from Italy in 1717, and sent him a long account of the eruption of Vesuvius, which Arbuthnot communicated to the Royal Society. Swift told Stella (16 April 1713) that he had dined with Arbuthnot and Berkeley, and Stock quotes the well-known passage from Arbuthnot's letter to Swift (19 October 1714), "Poor philosopher Berkeley has now the idea of health, which was very hard to produce in him ; for he had an idea of a strange fever on him so strong that it was very hard to destroy it by introducing a contrary one." Swift, who was no philosopher, would enjoy this time-honoured jest, which, if taken seriously, would be an entire misrepresentation of Berkeley's teaching.

Amongst Berkeley's friends² were the poets Gay and Parnell, the brothers Freind, and Matthew Prior, poet and diplomatist. Parnell was mentioned to Percival as the author of a very fine poem. Robert Freind was the headmaster of Westminster School, which Berkeley visited to see the election of King's Scholars, writing about it subsequently in the *Guardian*. To John Freind, the physician, Berkeley wrote from Italy giving "an accurate and entertain-

¹ Epilogue to the *Satires*, Dial. ii. 1.70 ; see also Elrington Ball, *Swift's Letters*, vol. iv, p. 117. Pope's words on the omitted address to our Lord are quoted below, p. 227n. ² For further particulars see Stock's *Life*, the *Guardian*, No. 62, and Rand, *B&P*, pp. 102, 112, 128, 153.

ing account of the tarantula." Matthew Prior, not to be confused with Thomas Prior, Berkeley's very close friend, was apparently in Dublin in 1712, and was known, it would seem, to Berkeley there. Later they met in Paris and dined together.

Berkeley speaks of meeting in London Sir Philip Parker, Lady Percival's brother, and Mr. Bligh, a landowner in Co. Westmeath. His letters to Percival at this critical time are full of London politics; he passes on all that Steele and Addison tell him about Jacobite plots, and the great questions of the succession, and the peace. A Whig where Protestant liberties were in danger, a Tory where Church principle was threatened, through the turmoil of those days he kept his head and his balance. For instance, he writes (7 May 1713), "I converse much with Whigs. The very day on which the peace was proclaimed, instead of associating with Tories, I dined with several of the other party at Dr Garth's, where we drank the Duke of Marlborough's health, though they had not the heart to speak one word against the peace, and indeed the spirit of the Whigs seems quite broken, and is not likely to recover."

Now I must speak at some length of two friendships which had a decisive effect on Berkeley's career, and which are referred to by Stock in the words, "Two gentlemen of opposite principles concurred in introducing him to the acquaintance of the learned and the great, Sir Richard Steele and Dr Swift." The former friendship was intimate, but may not have lasted long; the latter was lasting, and though it was probably never very intimate, it was, I believe, much closer and more solid than has hitherto been realized.

Richard Steele (1672-1729), who was born in Dublin, knew of Berkeley through his writings and was among the first to welcome him on his arrival in London. Half a century later Berkeley's widow¹ stated that Berkeley never thought highly of Steele's ability or learning, but regarded him as very good-natured and witty in conversation. Berkeley's own estimate is as follows: "His wit, natural good sense, generous sentiments, and enterprising genius, with a peculiar delicacy and easiness of writing seem those qualities which distinguish Mr Steele." He tells Percival of Steele's wide benevolence and generous "natural temper." He was kind and hospitable to Berkeley, "even though he has heard I am a Tory. I have dined frequently at his house in Bloomsbury Square, which is handsome and neatly furnished. . . .

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd ed., vol. iii, Corrigenda and Addenda.

His conversation is very cheerful and abounds with wit and good-sense."¹

Steele influenced Berkeley's life, not through his personality, but through his paper, the *Guardian*. The *Spectator* had ceased on 6 December 1712, and early in the following March Berkeley tells Percival of the new venture. The *Guardian* was to be cultural, to contain a religious element, and to be entirely non-political. A sustained attack on the free-thinking movement would supply the controversial spice, and commend the paper to the orthodox. Anthony Collins, the well-known deist, had just published his "very bold and pernicious book entitled a Discourse on Free Thinking,"² which caused a popular outcry and provided the target Steele desired.

The *Guardian* ran for six months, from 12 March to 1 October. Berkeley was a contributor, and seems to have been entrusted with the attack on the Free-thinkers almost from the start. He is said to have received from Steele a guinea and a supper for each article. The articles were anonymous. Berkeley has left no statement on the subject, and there has long been a doubt as to which were his. Fraser published fourteen as his. After a careful examination of the question,³ I have concluded that of these fourteen only twelve, viz. Nos. 27, 35, 39, 49, 55, 62, 70, 77, 83, 88, 89, 126, are by Berkeley. Nos. 3 and 69, though claimed for him, are not his. The gap between Nos. 89 and 126 was, no doubt, due to his two months' visit to Oxford. His last article (126) came out on 5 August. The issue of 7 August contained Steele's notorious article on Dunkirk, and that sudden incursion into politics probably decided Berkeley to contribute no further. The letter signed Misatheus (hater of atheism, 21 March) is probably by Berkeley, and strikes the keynote of the series in its contention that "reason abandons men that would employ it against religion," as instanced by the fact that the free-thinkers clamour for freedom of thought, and in the same breath demonstrate that we have no freedom in anything.

Berkeley's Essays in the *Guardian* are not hack-work journalism. Some of them are great pieces, possessing unity of aim and permanent value, and they are all the work of a broad, well-stored mind, consciously directed to high issues. The principal subjects discussed are : the future life, pleasure, rewards and punishments, religious education, unbelief, happiness, the moral sense theory,

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 108, 111. ² *ib.* p. 105. ³ see my Berkeley's "Essays in the *Guardian*," *Mind*, vol. III, N.S., No. 207.

and the bond of society. The connection in both thought and phrase between Berkeley's *Essays* and his *Alciphron* is close, and there can be no doubt that the work done for Steele opened out later into that fine defence of Christianity.

Before I leave the *Guardian* let me quote from No. 90, where the warm-hearted Steele pays a remarkable tribute to the unnamed writer of Nos. 88 and 89. I am morally certain that he is speaking of Berkeley, and here is eloquent public testimony to the impression of disinterestedness and elevation left by Berkeley's *anima candida* upon the London wits. Steele writes :

SIR,

I have received the favour of yours with the enclosed which made up the Papers of the two last days. I cannot but look upon myself with great contempt and mortification, when I reflect that I have thrown away more hours than you have lived, though you so much excel me in everything for which I would live. Till I knew you, I thought it the privilege of angels only to be very knowing and very innocent. In the warmth of youth to be capable of such abstracted and virtuous reflexions (with a suitable life) as those with which you entertain yourself, is the utmost of human perfection and felicity. The greatest honour I can conceive done to another is when an elder does reverence to a younger, though that younger is not distinguished above him by fortune. Your contempt of pleasure, riches, and honour will crown you with them all, and I wish you them, not for your own sake, but for the reason which only would make them eligible by yourself, the good of others.

I am, dearest youth,

Your friend and admirer,

Nestor Ironside.

Among the reasons for identifying the "dearest youth" with Berkeley are Steele's lovely words on "the privilege of angels," which almost certainly echo, or are echoed by, Bishop Atterbury's eulogy on Berkeley in reply to the Earl of Berkeley's question, Does my cousin answer your Lordship's expectations? "So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels till I saw this gentleman."¹

Berkeley's other sponsor in London society was Dr. Jonathan Swift, who was appointed Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in April 1713, just a few weeks after Berkeley's arrival in London. This friendship—and it was a friendship, and not, as is commonly supposed, a one-sided patronage of a young man by his elder compatriot—was closer and deeper than for the most part the biographers have realized. It lasted a long time and stood a great

¹ J. Hughes, *Letters* (1772), vol. ii, pp. 2-3.

test. Twice in Berkeley's first year in London Swift did him a good turn, introducing him at Court and securing for him an appointment in the Earl of Peterborough's suite; some years later Swift again used his influence for his friend, when he wrote to Lord Carteret, commending the Bermuda enterprise. Perhaps Berkeley did even more for Swift than Swift for Berkeley; and the Vanessa affair must have wrecked their friendship and might have wrecked Swift's life, had not Berkeley been the friend indeed in Swift's hour of need.

Swift was eighteen years older than Berkeley, but they had much in common. They attended the same school, and graduated from the same university. Both were Irish patriots of English extraction. Both at heart were rebels against the indefensible political system in which their lives were cast, the older man trying to end it, the younger trying to mend it, or at least to alleviate its attendant miseries. Both were loyal Churchmen; both attacked free-thinking. Both were political economists, and friends of the same poets and essayists. Both are still great names, and if Swift has the greater fame, Berkeley is the greater living influence. Each is mentioned in the other's letters, and we know that they corresponded, but not a letter of the one to the other is known to survive, and we have therefore little or no direct evidence of their feelings for each other.¹

This friendship was in some ways a unity of opposites. Both were strong men, but Swift was imperious and Berkeley gentle; Swift was born to command, Berkeley to persuade. Swift was passionate, Berkeley equable. Swift was often miserly and a misanthrope; Berkeley was always generous and kindly. Both men were thinkers, but Swift was doomed to think without the aid, control, and comfort of philosophy. Both men were masters of the English tongue, Swift of its force and fire, Berkeley of its grace and light. Neither was of robust health; Swift forced himself into fitness by riding and walking; Berkeley, active, tough, and hardy in his prime, sank into sedentary and valetudinarian age. Swift, his own worst enemy, feared or mocked his

¹ It is tantalizing to see in *Dean Swift*, by Sophie Shilleto Smith, a plate of photographs of signatures of Swift's correspondents, and amongst them two of Berkeley's, one as Dean from Rhode Island, and one as Bishop of Cloyne. Presumably these two letters were extant forty years ago; but where are they now? I have tried in vain to trace them. The publishers of the book, Messrs. Methuen, tell me (15 November 1945) that they published *Dean Swift* in 1910, that it went out of print in 1914, and that for thirty-one years they have had no dealings with the authoress; the latest address they had was 18 Broad Street, Oxford.

greatest earthly happiness, the love of Stella; he resolved "not to be fond of children," and inscribed the raven tress (whatever the words mean) "only a woman's hair." Berkeley, happily married, was happy in his home and children, and he writes often beautifully, and always sincerely, of "the comforts of domestic life, that natural refuge from solitude and years."

We do not find the two men together before the London days; but it is almost certain that they had met in Dublin first. Swift was Rector of Laracor, about thirty miles from Dublin, when Berkeley was in college. Swift was often in Dublin, was in touch with college men, and knew all that was going on; the election of a fellow from his old school with the same name as his patron, the Earl of Berkeley, then one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, could not have escaped his notice. He probably read Berkeley's *Essay on Vision*, and may have taken from it the notion of the relativity of size which appears in *Gulliver's Travels*.¹ Berkeley's first mention of Swift is in his letter of 7 March 1713,² "Dr Swift whom I met by chance at my Lord Pembroke's two nights ago." Had that been their first meeting, Berkeley would hardly have spoken so casually about it; for Swift was one of the most influential men in England at the time. On 27 March Berkeley and Addison breakfasted at Swift's lodging (what a constellation!); Steele joined them—which Berkeley took to be an augury of an impending coalition; for there had been a coldness between Swift on the one hand and Addison and Steele on the other. Berkeley comments, "Dr Swift's will³ is admired by both of them, and indeed by his greatest enemies; and if I were not afraid of disobliging my Lady and Mrs Parker I should tell you that I think him one of the best natured and agreeable men in the world."

A fortnight later Swift showed his good nature. The journal to Stella for 12 April reads, "I went to Court to-day on purpose to present Mr Berkeley, one of your [? our] Fellows of Dublin College to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. That Mr Berkeley is a very ingenious man and a great philosopher, and I have mentioned him to all the ministers, and given them some of his writings, and I will favour him as much as I can. This, I think, I am bound to, in honour and conscience, to use all my little credit towards helping forward men of worth in the world." Other

¹ see Pons, *La jeunesse de Swift*, pp. 125-26. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 109. ³ I think this must be a mistake for *wit*, see Elrington Ball, *Swift's Letters*, vol. ii, 16n; Rand, *ib.*, p. 111.

entries in the journal about the same time show Swift dining with Arbuthnot and Berkeley, and, on another day, with Parnell and Berkeley. In the following year writing from Leghorn on the first of May, Berkeley tells Pope, "I am here (by the favour of my good friend, the Dean of St Patrick's) in quality of Chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough."¹ The only other mention of Swift in Berkeleys' letters, known to me, occurs thirty years later. In a letter of 24 November 1745, a few weeks after Swift's death, to Dean Gervais Berkeley refers to the attempt made on political grounds to exclude the fine bust of Swift by Roubillac, now in the Long Room gallery in the Trinity College library. He writes: "I find the regents of our university have shewn their loyalty at the expense of their wit. The poor dead Dean, though no idolater of the whigs was no more a Jacobite than Dr Baldwin [the Provost]. And had he been even a papist, what then? Wit is of no party." The bust was made at the expense of the Sophister students, and its arrival from London was announced in the *Dublin Journal* for 21-25 March 1749, and the following curious inscription is there proposed for it:

We, youth of Alma, Thee her pride and grace
 Illustrious Swift, amid these heroes place. . . .
 All hail, Hibernia's boast! Our other pride,
 Late, very late, may Berkeley grace thy side.

We know that the two men corresponded at times frequently, though their letters to each other are not, unfortunately, forthcoming. Their references to one another in their extant letters are comparatively few; but some are highly significant, notably Swift's commendation of Berkeley and his Bermuda scheme in his letter of 3 September 1724 to Lord Carteret.² From the letters of mutual friends (see Appendix II), Gay, Pope, Bolingbroke, and others, we know that Swift and Berkeley were on good terms and were constantly in touch, and I have not come on any trace or hint of any diminution of their regard for each other, except the silence in later years, a necessary consequence of the clouding of Swift's faculties and his general loss of health. Berkeley's greatest service to Swift was in connection with Vanessa's legacy, for which see below (p. 87). The exact part he played we do not know, but clearly the situation was highly inflammable, and Berkeley handled it with tact and consideration.

¹ cf. Swift to Lord Carteret (*LL*, p. 102), "I sent him Secretary and Chaplain to Sicily with my Lord Peterborough. . . ." ² The letter is quoted by Stock and reprinted below in part, p. 100.

Very early evidence comes from Dr. Evans, Bishop of Meath, who reported the incident to Archbishop Wake in a letter dated 27 July 1723.¹ He says that Vanessa had meant to leave all her fortune, about £5,000, to Swift, that in April last she had found out that Swift was married to Stella, and thereupon made a new will leaving all to Berkeley and Marshall, and that on her deathbed she charged Marshall to print all the letters and papers that had passed between the Dean and herself. Evans adds, "Ye Archbishop of Dublin and ye whole Irish posse have (I fear) prevailed with Mr Marshall (ye lady's executor) not to print the papers, etc. . . ." Some of Evans' statements must be received with reserve, especially that about the marriage; for he and Swift were enemies; but broadly, no doubt, it is a true account. Vanessa's will (see below, p. 88) shows that Berkeley was co-executor with Marshall, and no doubt he was one of the "Irish posse" who endeavoured to restrain Marshall from publishing the letters. Stock indeed says that Berkeley burned some of the letters that came into his hands, assuring Dr. Delany and others that there was nothing criminal in them, but that the lady's style was rather warm. A legacy came to Berkeley which might have gone to Swift, but the two men remained good friends. A similar case is that of Robert Lindsay, who in 1722 was appointed legal adviser to the Chapter of St. Patrick's. He was also legal adviser to Vanessa, and is mentioned in her will; but his friendship with Swift was not affected by the incident.²

While Berkeley was in London, Percival kept him posted in the news of Dublin. Two Junior Fellows have been promoted—which brings Berkeley within reach of Senior Fellowship, and should make it worth his while to retain his connection with the college. The notorious Forbes case has come up again. The case (see above, p. 46) involved college politics as well as affairs of state. Not only Jacobitism, but the rights of masters in the conferring of degrees were concerned; and Percival, as an anti-Jacobite (if not a Whig), is glad to be able to report that the attempt of the masters to invalidate the degradation has miscarried.³

Berkeley visited Oxford about the middle of June 1713 and stayed there for two months. His letters go to Mr. Ives' over against All Souls College. He finds Oxford "the most delightful

¹ see J. H. Bernard, "The Relations between Swift and Stella," in Temple Scott's *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, vol. xii, p. 94. ² E. Ball, *Swift's Letters*, vol. v, p. 122n. ³ Rand, *B&P*, p. 120.

place I have ever seen as well for the pleasantness of the situation as that great number of ancient and modern buildings which have a very agreeable effect on my eye though I came from London and visited Hampton Court and Windsor by the way." The university was *en fête*, holding a long-continued solemnity in celebration of the "Act" with music, plays, speeches, disputations, and verses. The town was crowded; lodgings, at other times not worth half a crown, were let for a guinea a week. Best of all is the conversation of Dr. Smalridge who, two days since, was installed Dean of Christ Church.¹ Berkeley was back in London on 26 August, and reports that town is empty. Mr Bligh² has married Lady Theodosia, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. The Provost says "she is of a brisk and lively temper," and when Berkeley meets her, he finds her "the most airy young creature I ever saw; she detests the thought of going to Ireland."

¹ He became Bishop of Bristol (1714-19). ² Probably his pupil, also spelt Blithe, at whose house in Rathmore he stayed in December 1710; see Rand, *B&P*, p. 90. In *Alumni Dublinenses* he is given as Lieut.-Gen.; M.P., Athboy, 1715-75.

CHAPTER V

CONTINENTAL TOURS

TRAVEL on the Continent now completed Berkeley's education. There were two distinct tours. The first one was short, occupying some ten months, from the end of October 1713 to August 1714. After two years spent for the most part in England he began the second tour, which lasted four years, from the autumn of 1716 to the autumn of 1720.

"I sent him secretary and chaplain to Sicily with my Lord Peterborough," so wrote Swift eleven years later; but Swift's memory was not quite exact here. The secretary was an Italian, and Berkeley twice speaks of himself as chaplain.¹

Lord Peterborough, "one of the most extraordinary characters in Europe, who a few years before had astonished the world by the rapid splendour of his movements in the war of the succession in Spain, and since by his restless versatility as a diplomatist," was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to Victor Amadeus, the new King of Sicily (and plenipotentiary to all the Italian courts), and his main business was to attend that monarch's coronation. He was a scholar of some distinction, who is said to have joined Somers in translating Demosthenes. Berkeley saw little of him, but describes him as "a man of excellent parts and frank cheerful conversation."² He had the name of being opposed to religion, but he appears on the list as a subscriber of 100 guineas to the Bermuda scheme.

The tour helped to develop Berkeley's taste and outlook, and the details of his journeyings are still of interest. He set out from London on 25 October 1713 and landed at Calais at 4 a.m. on the 29th, "after a very remarkable escape from rocks and banks of sand and darkness and storm, and the hazards that attend rash and ignorant seamen."³ The Earl's aide-de-camp, Colonel Du Hamel, thence rode fast to Paris to secure lodgings,

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 127, 137; cf. Fraser, *LL*, pp. 63, 71. ² Rand, *ib.*, p. 132. They seem to have been together only for a fortnight in Paris and a week in Genoa; cf. Delany, *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, p. 28. ³ Fraser, *LL*, p. 66.

and Berkeley followed by coach, the stages being Calais-Boulogne-Montreuil-Abbeville-Poix-Beauvais-Paris. He left Calais on 12 November, and reached Paris on the evening of the 17th. He spent a month in Paris awaiting the arrival of the Earl. He dined with the ambassador of Sicily, visited Matthew Prior, the Queen's plenipotentiary, who "is a man of good sense and learning and lives magnificently," and mentioned to him his Dublin namesake. The Abbé d'Aubigne took him round the sights; they visited the *places* de Vendôme, de Victoire, and Régale, the Louvre, various convents, the monastery of Ste. Geneviève, the "English College where the body of King James and that of his daughter are still to be seen exposed in their coffins," the Irish College, and the Sorbonne, where they witnessed a disputation which "had much of the French fire in it."

Did Berkeley meet Malebranche in Paris, the occasionalist philosopher-monk whose philosophy in certain distinctive points strongly resembled his own? Stock says that they met and that a dispute occurred that "proved tragical to poor Malebranche. In the heat of disputation he raised his voice so high, and gave way so freely to the natural impetuosity of a man of parts and a Frenchman, that he brought on himself a violent increase of his disorder, which carried him off a few days after." The account is full of inconsistencies, but it makes a good story, and was sufficient excuse for the *mot* of the London wits that Berkeley was the *occasional cause* of the death of the occasionalist. In order to refute the story some have thought it necessary to deny that the philosophers met; but it is sufficient to deny that the meeting had any connection with the death of Malebranche which took place on 13 October 1715. I think they met in Paris in November 1713 during Berkeley's first visit. Here are the facts on which my opinion is based. On 24 November 1713 Berkeley wrote to Percival, "To-day he (l'Abbé d'Aubigne) is to introduce me to Father Malebranche, a famous philosopher in this city."¹ On the next day Berkeley wrote to Thomas Prior, "To-morrow I intend to visit Father Malebranche, and discourse him on certain points." Putting the two passages together, I think that the two philosophers had met on the 24th as arranged, and that the monk, perhaps unwilling to discuss technical points of philosophy in the presence of a third party, gave Berkeley an appointment for the 26th for the discussion. If they had not met on the 24th, and arranged a further meeting, how could a courteous, punctilious man like

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 129.

Berkeley state positively on the 25th that on the following day he was going to discuss "certain points" with Malebranche? That they met seems to me almost certain, that they argued and disagreed is quite probable, and such facts, if they are facts, with a little embellishment and embroidery would easily make up into Stock's story.¹

The Earl and his party set out from Paris, and passing through Melun, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, Vermenton, Saulieu, Chalon-sur-Saône, and Mâcon, they reached Lyons about 20 December, and spent eight days there. In wealth and population Lyons, for its size, compared favourably with Paris, and they witnessed a civic celebration there at which a statue of the king was erected to the accompaniment of speeches and fireworks. Berkeley noted the distressed condition of France generally, saying, "The Jacobites have little to hope and others little to fear from that reduced nation." At Lyons the party divided; the Earl and some of his *entourage* went to Toulon and took ship for Genoa. Berkeley chose to go overland with Colonel Du Hamel and Mr. Oglethorpe, and the story of their wintry journey makes a fine tale of endurance and hardship. They rode post, and on the first day they covered sixty miles (Lyons to Chambéry). "Savoy was a perpetual chain of rocks and mountains, almost impassable for ice and snow. And yet I rode post through it, and came off with only four falls, from which I received no other damage than the breaking my sword, my watch, and my snuff-box." On New Year's Day they crossed Mount Cenis, the most dangerous part of the Alps. Over the slippery, precipitous rocks they were carried in open chairs, their lives depending often on a single step. Berkeley was to make the passage of the Alps in mid-winter a second time, and its dangers left a deep impression on him. The stages of the journey were Chambéry, St. Jean-de-Maurienne, Lanabourg, Susa, Turin. They stayed eleven days at Turin, and went on to Genoa, where Peterborough joined them. By this time Berkeley is inured to hardship, "hardened against wind and weather, earth and sea, frost and snow; can gallop all day long, and sleep but three or four hours at night."² They spent three weeks at Genoa, a magnificent city which pleased Berkeley as much as any he had seen. Thence the party went by felucca (a coasting vessel) to Leghorn, taking Sestri di Levante and Lerici *en route*.³

¹ see my *Berkeley and Malebranche*, Appendix ii, and De Quincey, *Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts*. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 68. ³ At Lerici in the Gulf of Spezia the poet Shelley was drowned.

The coaches and equipage for the public entry into Sicily not having arrived, the Earl went to Sicily *incognito*, and Berkeley with the secretary and others of the retinue remained at Leghorn, a populous, wealthy trading centre, with a large and prosperous English colony and a resident chaplain and consulate. The chaplain was Basil Kennet, author of *Roman Antiquities*. Berkeley preached for him on several occasions, and two of his extant sermons are marked as preached at Leghorn, one on Palm Sunday, 1714. Stock tells the story¹ that a procession of priests entered the room in which Berkeley was sitting on the day after he had preached a sermon, and without taking any notice of him marched round the room uttering prayers. At first he thought it was a visitation from the Inquisition to punish him for having preached without a licence, and he was relieved to find that only vermin had cause to fear; for this was the day appointed for blessing the houses of Catholics against rats, mice, etc.

The coaches had not arrived by 1 May, and now it was doubtful whether the public entry into Sicily would take place. Berkeley's thoughts are turning homewards, and he writes from Leghorn on that day that he had seen Pisa, Lucca, Pistoia, and Florence, "but I have not seen anything that should make me desirous to live out of England or Ireland." On the same day he wrote to Pope, congratulating him on *The Rape of the Lock*, and adding, "Green fields and groves, flowery meadows and purling streams are nowhere in such perfection as in England; but if you would know lightsome days, warm suns, and blue skies, you must come to Italy."

The mission seems to have ended in June, and Berkeley parted from his chief at Genoa, took ship for France, and reached Paris about 10 July.² There he met an Irish friend who was returning through Flanders and Holland, and Berkeley, glad of the chance of seeing those countries, went with him, and he reached London about the time of the Queen's death, which took place on 1 August 1714.

The two years' interval between the two tours was spent mostly in England. His leave of absence ran to 9 September 1715. He had been in Dublin in February of that year,³ and from his letter of 9 August it is clear that at that time he had every intention of resuming his college work when his leave was up; for when Percival reports complaints about his absence, Berkeley replies,

¹ see the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlvii, p. 569. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 138. ³ see extract from letter, *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 115; Rand, *B&P*, p. 144.

"I cannot well leave this country for Ireland before next month, when I hope to find you there. I cannot understand why they should murmur at my absence in the College, considering all the persons absent. I am the only one who has the royal authority to be so." Why he did not carry out that intention, and, instead, had his leave of absence renewed for a further period of two years, we do not know. We have few letters of the period. The correspondence with Percival is a good deal interrupted at this time. On 21 April 1715 Percival became Baron Percival of Burton, Co. Cork, and from that time on his visits to Ireland were fewer and shorter.

Both men were carefully watching the political situation. The unrest in the state had its counterpart in Dublin University; some London diehards were advocating "infringing charters of universities for the extravagancies and crimes of a few young lads,"¹ and probably the unsettled condition of affairs made Berkeley think he was better out of Ireland for the present. The whole face of things in England had been altered by the death of Queen Anne and the accession of King George I. The Tories were out of office, but there was a deal of unrest in the country and much silent sympathy with the Pretender's cause. At this crisis Berkeley showed his personal loyalty to the House of Hanover by one of his few incursions into politics, publishing anonymously in 1715 his *Advice to the Tories who have taken the Oaths*.² Berkeley refers to it in his letter to Percival of 6 July 1715, saying, "I am persuaded a little address at this juncture might make the Tories all what they ought to be, true friends to the King," and Percival mentions it in his journal seventeen years later, when he told the Bishop of London of Berkeley's pamphlet, "wherein he laid it on their consciences to behave like good subjects."

I must add an account of the tract; for it is little known and very rare. It was printed in London in 1715 by R. Baldwin, and sold at three pence by R. Burleigh in Amen-Corner. It consists of 23 pages octavo, and the Vergilian quotation *En dextra fidesque* is on the title-page. The argument is straightforward and direct. Many people think that religion and loyalty to the Church of England require them to be Jacobites. The contrary is the case. You weaken the claims of religion and are disloyal to the Church,

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 139. For the Forbes case and its aftermath see above, p. 46.

² Identified by Lorenz, and reprinted by him in *Archiv für Gesch. der Philosophie*, xiv, 3, pp. 293-318, a very rare tract. The Representative Church Body, Dublin, has a copy; see also Rand, *ib.*, p. 139.

if when you are bound by solemn oaths to be true and faithful subjects of King George, you undermine his government and introduce that of the person you have abjured. This is no mere political question. A blow to the sanctity of oaths is a blow aimed at Church and Commonwealth. To subvert the government is a grievous crime, and "an insult on the Deity itself."

You claim to be true and loyal sons of the Church. Why then do you perjure yourselves, dishonour the Church, give occasion for scandal and encourage the enemies of the Church? The rebels lie under disadvantages, and you must expect their defeat and no quarter. You say the Whigs are disaffected towards the Church; well, your rebellion gives them the fairest pretext for destroying her. You are inflicting a worse wound than any Whig has done; for the Church's influence is shown in life and conduct.

But what of the Revolution? How could *that* be justified if it is never right to break an oath of allegiance? The cases are not parallel. You have accepted King George and have admitted his sovereignty, and are no longer at liberty to inquire by what steps he attained it. In point of fact he came to the throne without force or artifice, in compliance with the laws of the land, and at the unanimous request of his people. An oath is an oath. You are sworn to King George, and have abjured the Pretender. Even if you think the Pretender's title good, you may not help him; you have sworn not to do so. The tract ends with a full-length recital of the actual oaths taken, the short oath of allegiance, and the long oath of abjuration.

Berkeley had friends in Flaxley in Gloucestershire, and he spent a fortnight there in July 1715.¹ From Flaxley he sent Percival a spirited account of the riots in the west country, and the pulling-down of the meeting houses in Birmingham, Worcester, Stafford, and Gloucester. There are, he says, 20,000 men in Birmingham ready to take arms against the government, and "the nation is ready to break out into a flame."² As the tension grew Berkeley's condemnation of Jacobitism became explicit: "It is inconceivable what shadow of an advantage an Irish Protestant can fancy to himself from such a revolution. If . . . the Tories openly engage in the attempt, I shall think them guilty of as barefaced perjury and dishonesty as ever could be imputed to

¹ He revisited the place ten years later; see Fraser, *LL*, p. 115. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 141. This letter was answered by Percival from Dublin, 2 August 1715 in a very serious vein; he virtually rebukes Berkeley for his Tory leanings, when the Pretender's invasion is imminent. Egmont Papers, vol. 234.

any set of men.”¹ On 22 September he paints a gloomy picture of the situation in England; he is afraid of a general insurrection; for the people are Jacobite at heart. A month later he writes of “the scene every day opening and discovering new cause to apprehend a popish power and all the dismal consequences of it.” Things grew worse; but then the turn came, and on 17 November he congratulates Lord and Lady Percival on the victory of the King’s forces at Preston.

Up to the present Berkeley has appeared somewhat unconcerned about his career, but now it begins to occupy his attention. He considers whether he could take a living in the gift of Lord Peterborough, to be vacated by Dr. Freind, who has won a £20,000 prize in a lottery. In May 1716 he is likely to go to Ireland soon; the Prince of Wales has recommended him for St. Paul’s, Dublin; it is only worth £100 a year, but it can be held along with his fellowship. He begs Percival to write at once to the Duke of Grafton and vouch for his loyalty. Percival did so, and kept a copy of the letter he wrote. It was, however, of no avail; the Lords Justices, Lord Galway and the Duke of Grafton, made strong representations against him, and the living went elsewhere. This was probably the occasion on which his sermons on *Passive Obedience* were misrepresented as disloyal, when, we are told, his former pupil, Samuel Molyneux, then the Prince’s secretary, came to the rescue, presented him to the Prince, produced a copy of *Passive Obedience*, and showed that it was a loyalist work.²

In April 1716 Provost Pratt delivered the oration before the Prince that Swift parodied. According to the *London Gazette* for 17 April Berkeley and Howard attended Pratt on that occasion. Fraser (*LL*, p. 77*n*) rejects the story; he thinks Berkeley was on the Continent at the time; but Fraser is wrong in his facts here, and begins the second tour twelve months too early.

In the autumn of 1716 Berkeley went abroad again, accepting an offer of a tutorship from Ashe, the Bishop of Clogher, whose son George wanted a companion on a continental tour. George Ashe, a modest, good-natured young man, was heir to a considerable fortune, but was something of an invalid. Unlimited letters of credit were provided, and the travellers wanted for nothing. We find them at Turin on 24 November 1716. They must have left London in October; they passed through France, and, pre-

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 144, 145. ² Stock’s *Life*, see above, p. 52; and Rand, *B&P*, pp. 153, 158. Rand’s “£2000” is, I think, a mistake for £20,000.

sumably, they visited Paris. Berkeley thought the country in a very bad way, and the people were speaking their minds about the regency. A second time Berkeley crossed the Alps in winter. This time he was five or six weeks earlier, but the conditions were worse: "It blew and snowed bitterly all the time. The snow almost blinded us, and reached above the waists of the men who carried us. They let me fall six or seven times, and thrice on the brinks of horrid precipices, the snow having covered the path, so that it was impossible to avoid making false steps." They saw two avalanches, and in Dauphiné they encountered a wolf. "A huge dark-coloured Alpine wolf ran across an open plain, when our chaise was passing, when he came near as he turned about and made a stand with a very fierce and daring look, I instantly drew my sword and Mr Ashe fired his pistol. I did the same, too, upon which the beast very calmly retired, looking back ever and anon. We were much mortified that he did not attack us, and give us an opportunity of killing him."¹

Safely arrived at Turin they planned an itinerary to cover the principal cities of Italy, and in spite of alterations of plans they managed to visit practically every part of the country in the four years occupied by the tour. For the first year or so we can follow their movements closely, thanks to Berkeley's travel diaries,² which cover the period January 1717–April 1718. Here we can watch him *doing* the sights of Rome each day from 7–25 January 1717, touring in Apulia, leaving Naples on 5 May 1717, reaching Casal Nuovo on 28 May, and returning thence to Naples, arriving on 9 June. Here we have a description of the road from Rome to Naples in sixteen stages, notes on population, trade, and government, on their visit to the island of Ischia, on Vesuvius and Etna, on Italian religion and superstition, and on a journey from Naples to Rome (11–13 April 1718).

From Turin they set out for Naples; but they were delayed *en route* at Rome by the rigour of the season and the illness of their valet, staying there from early in January till after 1 March; they visited palaces, galleries, and churches, and attended musical entertainments. Having "eyes but no ears," as he says, Berkeley constantly fell asleep during the music, but rapidly developed a keen taste in painting and architecture which he never lost.

A summary of their doings in Rome may be of interest. They lodged under the height on which stands the church and convent

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 160. ² Four notebooks, British Museum, Add. MSS. 39307–10.

of La Trinità di Spagna,¹ overlooking the Piazza di Spagna. Almost every day, accompanied by friends or fellow-tourists,² they *did* the sights. They visited the Vatican library, and were impressed by the proportions of the building and the housing of the books ; they studied ancient classical texts, an uncial Septuagint, Henry VIII's letters to Anne Boleyn, and his book against Luther. Berkeley paid a ceremonial visit to Cardinal Gualteri, and has recorded details of the etiquette of such visits. He searches for Greek books, but the shops are ill-furnished. He visits St. Peter's twice ; he admires the pictures and statues, but more on the first occasion than the second ; for in the meantime he has visited the Farnese Palace and the Villa Borghese. In the Farnese Palace "the bust of Caracalla is flesh and blood—nothing can be softer. . . ." The Prince Borghese has "an incredible number of fine pictures. They are reckoned to be 1,700. Many portraits by Titian that seemed to breathe, fine soft graceful pieces of Correggio, excellent ones of Raphael, Annibal Carache [Carracci—Ed.], Guercino, Guido Reni, Rubens, Lanfranc, Paul Veronese, etc." They never weary of viewing the Pantheon, discovering new beauties every time they see it. They visit the Capitol, and ascend to the top of the Ara Coeli convent, and thence enjoy the prospect of Rome, the Campagna, and the Apennines. The palace of the Barberini for situation and architecture is the noblest in Rome. Berkeley can be critical as well as appreciative ; he notices the absence of galleries in some palaces, finds some pictures ridiculous, and notes that "the ancients had indifferent statuary as well as the moderns." They see the Esquiline antiquities, the mausoleum of Augustus, the baths of Titus, the churches of St. John de Lateran, and Sta. Maria Maggiore. They attend ceremonies, seeing the fathers of St. Anthony blessing the horses, mules, and asses, and on the feast of St. Peter's Chair they see the Pope and Cardinals at St. Peter's. "There was fine singing, much incensing, carrying about, dressing and undressing of the Pope. His Holiness was carried in a chair with two screens or eventails of feathers, one on each side, protecting him from the air, though within the church. . . . The guards of light horse and cuirassiers were drawn up in the piazza of St. Peter's, and there was a great number of cardinals and prelates with fine coaches and rich liveries."

¹ Now Trinità dei Monti. ² Dr. Chenion, Messrs. Hardy, Terwhit, and Domville are named. In Italy Berkeley first met Smibert, the painter, and Benson, later his close friend and Bishop of Gloucester.

Leaving Rome they journeyed south and reached Naples towards the end of March. "The air of this happy part of the world is soft and delightful beyond conception, being perfumed with myrtle shrubs and orange groves that are everywhere scattered throughout the country; the sky almost constantly serene and blue; the heat tempered to a just warmth by refreshing breezes from the sea."¹ On 17 April Berkeley climbed Vesuvius, watched an eruption, and began the account of its activity, which he completed after his return from the tour in Apulia. The account was sent to Dr. Arbuthnot, who communicated it to the Royal Society. From 15² May to 10 June they were touring Apulia and Calabria, "the most remote and unknown parts of Italy"³; the details of this tour are given in the travel diary (MSS. 39308-9), a remarkable log, obviously written in the chaise from hour to hour; the time of day is often recorded to the minute; its descriptions of towns, villages, terrain, views, customs, administration, etc., are vividly done in telegraphic style, and might be of value to historians. The diary contains detailed particulars of tarantism, which was a matter of public interest at the time, especially to the medical profession. The bite of the tarantula, a large spider found near Taranto and elsewhere in Italy, was said to cause pathological disorders which were relieved by music and dance. Berkeley records observations and reports of the tarantati, which he was collecting at the request of Dr. Freind.⁴ The town of Lecce comes in for special praise. For richness of architecture he had seen nothing to compare with it in his travels, "not a spout or supporter to the balustrade or balcony but wrought in the grotesque figure of some animal, or otherwise carved."

A. C. Fraser, who found the travel diaries, made a close study of them, and the following words of his (*LL*, p. 349) deserve to be repeated: "Hardly anywhere, I almost think, do we come nearer to him, in the daily life of his rather restless prime, than when we follow him in the diary of his wanderings in Italy, now given to the world, and there see how cordially he entered into everything around him, how genial he was in his intercourse with strangers, and how energetically inquisitive into the institutions and customs of the countries through which he passed. His love for the beautiful, and his artistic eye, are shown in the constant

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 164. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 535, reads 5th. For informed comment on the tour with local knowledge and good illustrations, see *George Berkeley in Apulia*, by Alice Brayton, Boston, 1946. ³ Rand, *B&P*, p. 166. ⁴ see Stock's *Life*, and Fraser, *LL*, p. 82n. Freind wrote *The History of Physick*, London, 1725.

references to the treasures of ancient and modern Italy. The good nature with which he meets the inconveniences of travelling show how pleasant a companion he must have been."

Soon after their return to Naples they took ship and visited the island of Ischia,¹ which lies some ten miles south-west of Naples. Here they spent three or four months; for six weeks Berkeley was very ill, but he manages to send glowing accounts of the island to Percival from Testaccio on 1 September, and to Pope from Naples on 22 October. The island is eighteen miles round, and contains 16,000 inhabitants. Its air is temperate and wholesome, and its soil fertile. Apples, pears, plums, cherries, pomegranates, figs, almonds, peaches, and apricots make "the country look like one great fruit garden." The island is "an epitome of the whole earth, containing within the compass of eighteen miles a wonderful variety of hills, vales, ragged rocks, fruitful plains, and barren mountains, all thrown together in a most romantic confusion." The hills are covered to the top with vines, chestnut groves, myrtle, and lentiscus. It is dominated by an extinct volcano in the middle of the island, Mons Epomeus, from whose top you can survey the islands of Caprea and Prochyta, Partenope,² and a tract of Italy about 300 miles in length, from the promontory of Antium to the cape of Palinurus. Berkeley's travel diary (MS. 39310), written for the most part in or about Ischia, besides topographical details gives accounts of the Sbirri, of the dress and habits of the Ischiots, and of the parliament and officials, together with various classical references to the island.

The latter part of this crowded year was spent in Sicily. The travellers were back in Naples from Ischia by 22 October 1717, and some time after that date they went to Sicily and wintered there. "I have myself felt an earthquake at Messina in the year 1718," Berkeley wrote some thirty years later,³ and at Catania he had heard Count Tezzani speak of the earthquake of 1692. From another source, too, we hear of him on the island. For on 25 February 1718 he wrote from Messina, evidently on the point of leaving Sicily, to the Italian philosopher, Tommaso Campailla,⁴ who had shown him hospitality. The letter opens with the statement, "Ex itinere per universam insulam instituto jam tandem

¹ Inorine Jovis imperiis imposta Typhæo. Virgil, *Aen.* ix, 716. ² The modern names of the islands are Capri and Procida; Partenope is the old name for Naples.

³ Fraser, *LL*, p. 318. ⁴ T. Campailla, 1669-1740, of some note for his Cartesian poem, *Adamo, ovvero il mondo creato* (Catania, 1709); see Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, Appendix iii.

reversus. . . ." The *tandem* implies that the journey was a long one, and is on all fours with his statement to Percival that his taste had been formed on the classical models which he met on his travels, particularly in Sicily.¹

About the remainder of the tour our information is scanty. The Bishop of Derry (translated from Clogher, 1717) died on 27 February 1718, and the travellers at first intended to go straight home, but Ashe received instructions not to do so, and they decided to stay some time longer in Rome. They had left Naples on 11 April and reached Rome on the 13th, after being robbed by a brigand and "overturned topsy-turvy" in the night. Visitors from all over Europe were gathering in Rome for Holy Week and Easter, including a number of Britons, both loyalists and Jacobites. A Mr. Hamilton brought a letter from Percival. Berkeley has commissions to execute; he buys prints and busts for Percival, and books for Lord Pembroke. On 13 November he is still at Rome (whether he had been there all the summer we do not know). The Pretender is expected hourly; his followers are swarming. Berkeley and Ashe are leaving hurriedly: "We are going to Venice in our way homewards, and hope to kiss your Lordship's hands this spring in London."² They were delayed more than a twelvemonth; from what cause we do not know, unless it was Ashe's health. The next letter is from Florence on 20 July 1720, when they were proposing to set out for home in two days' time. The only recorded incident of the return journey we owe to Stock's *Life*, which says that at Lyons Berkeley drew up his Latin tract *De Motu*, and submitted it to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. The Academy had offered a prize for an essay on motion, and Fraser's inquiries showed that it was won by M. Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy at Lausanne; the second prize was won by M. Massy. Of the reception accorded to Berkeley's essay nothing is recorded. It sketches the application of immaterialism to the problem of motion, and was published in London early in 1721.

George Ashe died at Brussels in 1721,³ it would seem, but whether he had remained on the Continent or returned with his tutor to England we do not know. Berkeley reached London apparently in the late autumn of 1720.

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 172. See also T. Blackwell, *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, vol. ii, p. 277; and J. Warton, *Essay on Pope* (1782), vol. ii, p. 201, "He went over Apulia and Calabria, and even travelled on foot through Sicily, and drew up an account of that very classical ground, which was lost in a voyage to Naples."

² Rand, *B&P*, p. 175. ³ *ib.*, p. 186.

CHAPTER VI

PREFERMENT

BERKELEY returned from his continental travels with mind broadened, taste cultivated, and body schooled to hardship. He is now the complete man ; still the philosopher, he must put his philosophy into action ; still the scholar and man of letters, he must use his knowledge and his pen for the good of man and the glory of God ; still cherishing lofty ideals, he had learned from manifold contacts with reality that the full life for the great man is not to be found in cloister or academic groves ; the spirit of adventure was still hot in him, and was shortly to strike out anew, but he had come to realize that if he was to do his total duty, his duty to God and man and self, he must find a place to match his powers, and must himself take due care of his personal interests and career.

For the next few years he is definitely seeking preferment in the Irish Church. At first he seeks an office which could be held along with his fellowship, a sinecure, i.e. an appointment which would increase his income, but would leave him free to study and to perform his academic duties. Later his thoughts embraced a wider field of activity, and his desires and his plans broadened in proportion.

For a year after his return from the Continent he is almost lost to sight. London, no doubt, was his headquarters, and the absence of letters to or from Percival suggests that he was much at Charlton, Lord Percival's new seat near Greenwich, and in his later letters he speaks of Charlton as a home. He took up the threads of other old friendships at this time, and formed new ones. Among his clerical friends are now numbered Benson, Secker, and Rundle, whose names are joined with Berkeley's in Pope's well-known lines.¹ Joseph Butler, Secker's school-fellow, was preaching his famous sermons at the Rolls from 1719 to

¹ see above, p. 60. For Benson see above, p. 77*n*, and below, p. 141 ; Secker, who was ordained in 1722, says that he met Berkeley shortly before his ordination ; in 1735 he writes to Berkeley of "our common friend, Dr Butler," Fraser, *LL*, p. 236.

1726, and no doubt Berkeley made his acquaintance at this time. Berkeley was once more in touch with Arbuthnot, Pope, and Bishop Atterbury. The Bishop wants Berkeley and Pope to dinner, but they cannot go; for Pope is taking Berkeley to-morrow to his "Tusculum."¹

In 1721 Berkeley published *An Essay towards preventing the ruine of Great Britain*. This is a more significant work than the title suggests; it is no mere wail or jeremiad, but a reasoned pronouncement on public, as distinct from political, questions. It is a call to "religion, industry, frugality, and public spirit" motivated by "the calamities that succeed the South Sea project." The section on religion has an allusion to the freethinkers who belie the title of their sect by rejecting rational freedom of thought and action. The section on industry prescribes hard work as a cure for the gambling craze,² and anticipates some of the principles of economics later developed in the *Querist*; e.g. "Money is so far useful to the public, as it promoteth industry, and credit having the same effect is of the same value with money." Berkeley makes proposals for improving the lot of sailors, and for preventing British sailors from taking service in foreign ships. Under frugality he proposes sumptuary laws against luxury in dress, and attacks various abuses, including the masquerade. To "recover a sense of public spirit," he would build a parliament house, courts of justice, a royal palace, and other public edifices suitable to the dignity of the nation, and adorn them with paintings and statues. His tours had taught him the spiritual value of "those noble arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting [which] do not only adorn the public, but have also an influence on the minds and manners of men, filling them with great ideas, and spiring them up to an emulation of worthy actions." He would found an Academy of Letters, restore respect for religion and morality, and discourage party spirit, telling whig and tory that to ruin the other party is to involve themselves and their posterity in the same ruin.

Berkeley's views on the arts and their place in the public polity won him the friendship of an eminent exponent of the same views, the Earl of Burlington and Cork (1695-1753), who designed Burlington House in Piccadilly and other important London buildings.

¹ Rand, *B&M*, p. 179; Fraser, *LL*, pp. 89, 90. ² Berkeley was by no means narrow or Puritanic about gambling; and some would regard him as lax about it; for he takes tickets in a Dublin lottery. Fraser, *LL*, p. 301. Cards, his widow says, he disliked and despised.

The two men had in common the love of letters and the arts, especially architecture. Pope introduced them to each other, and Warton¹ says that Berkeley gained Burlington's friendship "not only by his true politeness and the peculiar charms of his conversation, which was exquisite, but by his profound and perfect skill in architecture." The Earl had a deer-park at Lismore, some twenty-five miles from Cloyne, and gave Berkeley when he was bishop the privilege of asking the keeper for venison.²

The Earl introduced Berkeley to the Duke of Grafton, who in August 1721 was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Duchess was a friend of Lady Percival, and the introduction, thus recommended, became of decisive importance to Berkeley. The Duke conceived a high opinion of him, and promised him preferment, and the promise decided him to return to Ireland and resume his academic work—which he did in September 1721.³ Stock affirms that the Duke "took him over to Ireland as one of his chaplains"; but this statement is inexact, as is pointed out by a correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁴ Berkeley's letters to Percival (e.g. *B&P*, p. 186) show him on very friendly terms with the Duke, but not as holding any office at the Vice-Regal Lodge. He writes, "At first I forced myself to be a pretty constant courtier, but of late have remitted somewhat of my diligence, being tired out with delays. I do nevertheless see the Duke and Duchess once in ten days." The possibility of an *honorary* chaplaincy cannot be ruled out.

Swift styled Berkeley "an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power," and his biographers have stressed his disinterestedness and lofty principle, and there can be no doubt that, especially in his younger days, he was exceptionally free from personal ambition, and that he never became selfish or self-seeking. But the duty of rational self-love was part of his ethical creed; excessive self-abnegation would be to him immoral. He could see through the extreme values popularly attached to money, titles, and power; but one has only to read his business letters to Prior, or the accounts of moneys borrowed from Percival or lent to him, to see that he was careful in money matters and

¹ *Essay on Pope* (1782), vol. ii, p. 200. ² see his note dated 1 September 1737, below, p. 174. ³ Though his fifth King's Letter gave him leave of absence for two years from 6 May 1721. ⁴ vol. 46, p. 569. December 1776. Fraser in his (1871) edition of the *Works* supports Stock's statement by publishing a letter from one George Berkeley, who was Chaplain to a Lord Lieutenant, but in his (1901) edition he withdraws; the letter was in fact written before our George Berkeley was born. See Fraser, *LL*, p. 93, and *Works* (1901), vol. i, p. xlvii.

prudent in affairs. He bade his friend Gervais (Fraser, *LL*, p. 282) to "mind the main chance," though he himself did not often act from that motive.

Trinity College salaries were augmented in July 1722, but even with the augmentations they were very low, and Berkeley, to keep up any position at all, simply had to try to better himself. He would draw annually £48 6s 8d as a Senior Fellow, £11 7s 11d kitchen allowance, and £20 or so for an office; he was entitled to free rooms and commons; but it was scarcely a living wage,¹ and the fellows were habitually in debt to the college. In the ordinary course of events in those days fellowship was little more than a temporary position, a stepping-stone to a college living and matrimony. Berkeley seems to have had at the time no thought of marriage, and he intended to devote himself to learning; but he was accustomed to living comfortably and well; and some sinecure tenable with his fellowship or some similar addition to his college salary was a matter of necessity.

Co-opted Senior Fellow in his absence (13 July 1717), he was now one of the governing body, and on his return he threw himself with keenness into the life and work of the college. He took the degrees of B.D. and D.D., the graces being passed on 14 November 1721. On 20 November he was appointed Divinity Lecturer, no doubt on the foundation of Archbishop King, and Preacher; on the following day he resigned the office of Senior Greek Lecturer, which he must have been holding *pro tempore*. His work as Divinity Lecturer bore fruit later in the exact knowledge of theology, Christology, church history, and allied studies displayed in his *Alciphron*. In the Register for 27 October 1722 we see him signing a college document along with the other Senior Fellows, and he must have taken part in the reform of college finances, which was effected that summer. On 20 November 1722 he was appointed Senior Proctor, and on 14 June 1723 Hebrew Lecturer, both appointments being renewed on 20 November 1723. The variety of these appointments shows that he was regarded by his colleagues not only as a speculative thinker, but as a scholar of wide range, and as a prudent administrator and man of affairs. He resided in the college, and took the lead there; in December 1721 the college entertained the Viceroy, and Berkeley was appointed to make the Latin speech of welcome.

¹ For the scale of salaries, see Fraser, *LL*, p. 53. In the list of debts for 1713, Berkeley is down as owing £37 13s 7d; see E. H. Alton, *Some fragments of College history*, p. 34.

In the following summer his fluency in Latin was turned to civic account ; the king's equestrian statue is to be uncovered ; the companies will ride the fringes, and the magistrates will appear in their magnificence. "I was desired to make the latin inscription for the statue, which I did, being willing to distinguish my zeal for His Majesty, and in consequence thereof had the honour to dine at my Lord Mayor's on last great day."¹

About this time Connolly, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, designed a mansion at Castletown, Co. Kildare, and Berkeley was consulted about it. His description of it makes Percival lyrical : "This house will be the finest Ireland ever saw . . . fit for a prince . . . the epitome of the kingdom."² Berkeley feared that there were too many fingers in the pie, and he tells Percival that the building is begun and the cellar floor arched before the plans for the elevation and the façade had been agreed on, and so he had made no plan of his own, but just gave his opinion when consulted on any point.

These three and a half years of residence in Dublin are chiefly significant as leading to that preferment which gave Berkeley sufficient standing and income for the prosecution of his American enterprise. The Duke of Grafton, it will be remembered, had virtually promised to provide for him, and the fulfilment of that promise is the story of two deaneries, to both of which he was appointed and one of which he held.

The moment he landed in Ireland Berkeley heard that the deanery of Dromore was vacant. Dromore is a small northern diocese, formerly united with Down and Connor, and now with Connor. The Deanery was worth £500 a year ; it had no residence, and there were no duties attached to it ; it could be held along with a college fellowship, and was just the sinecure Berkeley desired. He applied for it at once, reminding the Duke of his promises ; "he answered me very civilly, but in general terms, saying that he meant to do more than he cared to say. . . ."³ Delays occurred, and Berkeley thought the Duke wanted to create a sense of dependence, but in the light of subsequent events it looks as if the Duke doubted whether it was any kindness to appoint Berkeley, and land him in a lawsuit. The Crown's right to appoint was challenged by the Bishop of the diocese, who put

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 185, 194. According to Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, p. 127n, the statue was originally placed on Essex bridge, and was brought thence to the Mansion House grounds in Dawson Street ; it was removed in 1927. Thackeray saw it, and speaks of "our blessed sovereign George I peering over a paling into Dawson Street." See below, p. 157. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 196. ³ *ib.*, p. 178.

in his own nominee, Dr. Lesley ; and so for a while there were two deans-elect, just as after Swift's death there were two Deans of St. Patrick's, nominees of the Crown and the Chapter respectively. In the latter case the Crown lost after a lawsuit, and it looks as if the Crown would have lost at Dromore, too, if the case had come to court. At any rate when on 10 February 1722 Berkeley announces that his patent is passing the seals, he also announces that he has to fight the case for the Crown. He received the title of Dean, but was not, it would seem, installed or paid as Dean. The Duke gave him £50 "Concordation money" towards the expenses of the case, and promised more. Half that sum very soon went "in seeing lawyers," eight being briefed. I have not found that the case came up for hearing. A compromise was proposed, and Berkeley was not sanguine about his chances of succeeding, and even doubted whether he had right on his side. In March 1723 he is hopeful ; in September 1723 he despairs of it. In May 1724 he writes, "The affair of Dromore is still undecided, and likely to be so for some years, but it is now in other hands." As late as 1729 there was a proposal, apparently from Hamilton, Lesley's successor, to put Berkeley in possession.¹

In October 1722 the other deanery comes on the scene. The Dean of Derry is seriously ill, and Berkeley's friends are thinking of him as successor. Percival begs him to come to London and push his suit in person ; he himself is debarred from making interest for his friend with the Duke ; for he is expecting shortly to receive the honour of a viscountcy. Berkeley took the advice and went to London, bringing with him an Irish prayer-book which Percival's brother sent as a specimen of their good Dublin printing. The voyage was nearly a tragedy. "For thirty-six hours together we expected every minute to be swallowed by a wave, or dashed in pieces against a rock. We sprung and split our mast, lost our anchor, and heaved our guns overboard."² Berkeley spent some two months in London making interest for his Bermuda scheme, and, presumably, for the deanery, setting out thence for Dublin on 5 March.

Early in the following year the deanery of Derry was hotly canvassed, and we have a vivid picture of the candidates and the scene at Dublin Castle from the pen of Percival's brother Philip. "They certainly are good solicitors, and were you sometimes at

¹ see Rand, *B&P*, pp. 187, 195-99, 205, 211, 217 ; and Fraser, *LL*, p. 163. ² Rand, *B&P*, pp. 198, 200, 201.

the Castle it would make you laugh to see the whole piazza crowded to that degree that Dr Berkeley was ashamed to be seen among them and used to retire to the garden. It was really comical to see long Northcote stalking, and little Shadwell waddling about whilst fat Dean Daniel was storming at Berkeley's having the deanery of Derry, a man who, he said, had never declared himself. . . . He was inveighing bitterly one day in this manner to the Bishop of Fernes, who let him run on for about half an hour, and then whispered him in the ear *Berkeley will have it for all that, which made him rage ten times more.*"¹

Trinity College intervened decisively on Berkeley's behalf. The college livings of Ardtrea and Arboe, worth £700, were vacant, and on 4 April he was presented to them; twelve days later the presentation for this occasion was transferred to the Lord Lieutenant "upon Dr Berkeley being made Dean of Derry."² This action, says Berkeley, "gave a strong turn in my favour." He received his patent on 4 May 1724; two days later he went north to be installed and to take possession, and on 18 May he sent to the Provost his resignation of his Senior Fellowship. Thus ended his twenty-four years' connection with Trinity College, and thus the stage was set for the most dramatic episode of his career, his transatlantic enterprise.

Before telling the story I must deal at some length with another noteworthy event, the Vanessa legacy. In itself it is scarcely worth more than a passing mention, being just a windfall which brought Berkeley some £3,000 and years of business worries; but it strikes the imagination; it has the touch of romance, and it brings together two great Irishmen, Swift and Berkeley, at a revealing moment. For the elder man the incident was pitiful and poignant; for the younger man it was a sign *non sine numine Dei*. Berkeley's first thought was that it was a "providential event." It came to him so utterly unexpectedly when his mind was full of Bermuda that he had to regard it as a mark of divine approval and encouragement, helping to make him independent, and thus freeing him for his mission and the call of God.

Hester Van Homrigh,³ the Vanessa of Swift's story, died on

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 216. Percival notes that Northcote became Dean of Cloyne, and Daniel Dean of Down. ² see College Register, and Rand, *B&P*, p. 217. ³ Berkeley at first spells the name Van Omry, if we can trust the edition of Percival's letters. According to Lord Orrery it should be pronounced *Vanummery*; for an account of the Van Homrighs and of Vanessa's relations to Swift, see Elrington Ball's *Swift's Letters*, vol. iii, Appendix iii. For the Will, see Fraser, *LL*, p. 97.

the Sunday before 4 June 1723. Her will, made on 1 May of that year, directs the payment of her debts, leaves some minor legacies and varying sums to twelve persons including the Archbishop of Dublin to buy rings, and subject to these charges gives and devises "all my worldly substance, whether in lands, tenements, hereditaments, or trusts, and all my real and personal estate, of what nature or kind soever, unto the Rev. Dr George Berkly, one of the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, and Robert Marshal of Clonmel Esq., their heirs, executors, and administrators. . . ." Berkeley and Marshall are named as sole executors.

This bequest from "a lady to whom I was a perfect stranger, having never in the whole course of my life, to my knowledge, exchanged one single word with her," took Berkeley completely by surprise. He was dashing off the news to Percival (*B&P*, pp. 207-8) an hour before the funeral, and we are not to pin him to the *ipsissima verba* of the statement quoted. According to Stock, Swift had often taken him to dine at the house of the Van Homrighs in London, but Berkeley had not once met the young lady since his return to Ireland. Mrs. Anne Berkeley, the widow, in her corrections of Stock published in the *Biographia Britannica* (2nd ed. vol. iii), says that her husband had only dined once with the Van Homrighs, and that was by chance; it was indeed the first and last time in his life that he saw Vanessa.

These assertions and denials are eloquent testimony to the fascination of the story of Swift and to the minuteness with which it was studied in the eighteenth century. But there is no need for us to follow them up in detail and attempt to determine their exact value. Whatever the precise facts may have been, it is clear that Vanessa and Berkeley were virtually strangers to each other at the time of her death. How then is the legacy to be explained?

Let us glance at the story of Swift. Mrs. Van Homrigh, a widow of some wealth and consequence, whose husband had been a merchant in Dublin and Lord Mayor of the city, lived in London with her two sons and her two daughters, of whom Hester was the elder. Swift made their acquaintance in 1708 (when Hester was seventeen years old), took lodgings near them and dined often at their house. Hester was a lovely and accomplished girl when Swift first met her, and as a father or a teacher might do, he fostered her love of learning. She learned to love him, and he, flattered and half in kindness, used towards her the language of affection, though

That innocent delight he took
To see the virgin mind her book
Was but the master's secret joy
In school to hear the finest boy.

Swift never loved her, but offered her friendship, and told the story of this friendship in the poem, meant by him for Vanessa alone, *Cadenus and Vanessa*. Her mother died, and a small property at Celbridge, twenty miles from Dublin, came to her, and with her sister she took up residence there in 1717. Swift saw her little, but she wrote him a series of passionate letters. In 1721 she lost her sister. Growing more and more lonely she wrote, some say to Swift, others say to Stella, asking if he and Stella were married. "He rode in a fury to Celbridge . . . entered her room . . . threw down her letter on the table . . . and rode off." She died soon after.

Vanessa had meant to make Swift her heir, and altered her intentions shortly before her death. So much is certain ; but why the bequest to Berkeley ? The two men were very good friends, and there was no envy or jealousy between them, and therefore nothing for spite or malice to work on. Vanessa clearly had no grounds for thinking that her choice of Berkeley as legatee would specially hurt Swift, and we may dismiss the notion that there was anything spiteful or malicious in the bequest. Nor could personal reasons have had much to say to it. Even if she and Berkeley had met once or twice, they were, as we have seen, virtually strangers. Therefore we must take the bequest as a tribute to Berkeley's good name and growing fame. Brought up in Dublin, Vanessa would have the Dubliner's respect for "a fellow of Trinity" ; his books were known, and his personal qualities admired. The Bermuda project was already being talked of in Dublin, and its author was rising into prominence ; he was known as a pious, learned, honourable, and philanthropic person. He with Swift and the Archbishop of Dublin were the outstanding clerics of the Irish Church ; Vanessa had shown her regard for the Archbishop, and when she was casting round for a substitute for Swift as legatee, to think of Berkeley was the most natural thing in the world.

The legacy did nothing to impair the good relations between Swift and Berkeley ; indeed, they became better friends than ever at this time, if we may judge from the warm terms in which Swift speaks of Berkeley in his well-known letter to Lord Carteret, written 3 September 1724, fifteen months after Vanessa's death

(see below, p. 100). It is more than probable that Berkeley did Swift a substantial service by his wise and considerate discharge of his duties as executor. His discretion and his loyalty to his friend are shown, as pointed out by Hone and Rossi (*Bishop Berkeley*, p. 123), by the remarkable fact that in the long series of letters to Prior on the business of the Vanessa estate, and in the letters to Percival, usually so revealing, Berkeley makes no mention of, or allusion to, the relations between Swift and Vanessa. Indeed, Berkeley is silent on virtually all the topics that interest Swiftians, though he must have possessed inside knowledge of many of the facts.

On the most interesting of all the Swiftian questions, the alleged marriage with Stella, the biographer of Berkeley cannot remain silent, even though he has nothing new or very decisive to say. Willy-nilly Berkeley is drawn into the debate. He cannot be fairly *quoted pro or con*; but he has been cited, and he will be cited as a witness in spite of his silence, and it is important that his silent evidence should be correctly and fairly stated.

Two members of his family can be quoted in support of the alleged marriage. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Eliza Berkeley, writing about 1797, i.e. about eighty-one years after the supposed event, *assumes* that the marriage took place, and says that she had it from Dean Delany that the news that they were both children of Sir William Temple came to them on the very day that the knot was tied. Her son Monck had already published the statement in his *Literary Relics* (p. xxxvi): "In 1716 they were married by the Bishop of Clogher, who himself related the circumstance to Bishop Berkeley, by whose relict the story was communicated to me." Mother and son, their evidence is one; their voice is that of the Bishop's widow; and they wrote when the issue had been debated for fifty years, and sides long since taken.

Lord Orrery (*Remarks*, Letter ii) calls Stella "the concealed but undoubted wife of Dr Swift . . . if my informations are right, she was married to Dr Swift in the year seventeen hundred and sixteen, by Dr Ashe then Bishop of Clogher." Dean Delany (*Observations*, p. 52) accepted this account. Scott accepted the marriage. W. Monck Mason (*History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's*, pp. 297ff), a friend of Monck Berkeley, rejected the marriage, arguing that the best evidence for the marriage rests on the *opinion* of an intimate friend; and that since the intimate friend had

only an opinion on such an intimate matter, his evidence was *con* rather than *pro*. Mason is on fairly strong ground there ; but he went on to argue, quite wrongly, that Berkeley was in Italy in 1716, and therefore could not have heard the story of the marriage from Bishop Ashe. In point of fact, if the marriage took place before October 1716, Berkeley would have had ample opportunity of hearing of it by letter, or even by word of mouth, from Ashe before he left England ; and the two men must have been in close touch that summer over the arrangements for George Ashe's continental tour with Berkeley. Monck Mason has made a mistake in his premises, but that does not invalidate his conclusion.

Let us look at the question dispassionately, without those pre-suppositions which dispose men to take a jaundiced view. The marriage may have taken place ; but the evidence for it is very shaky, and the difficulties in the way of accepting it are immense. That a dean with powerful friends and powerful enemies would hope to keep his marriage secret, or would wish to do so, is *improbable*. That a *bishop* would perform such a marriage anywhere, least of all in a garden (as the full story runs), is *improbable*. That he would disclose the secret to his son's tutor and conceal it from others is *improbable*. That Stella, if married, would permit herself to be described as " spinster " in her last will and testament is *improbable*. That Swift when the news of her death came to him on the evening of 28 January 1728 could sit down in his misery, nay agony, and pose for posterity, and write the words " the death of the truest, most virtuous and valuable friend that I or perhaps any other person ever was blessed with " is *improbable*, if that *friend* was his wedded wife. That the Church party of Dublin and other moralists wished the marriage had taken place is *probable* ; they thought it was a choice between the marriage and sin ; they wished the marriage had taken place, and so they invented it ; and once the marriage was accepted, gossip would soon invent reasons for its concealment, such as the far-fetched Temple legend.

It is quite possible that Berkeley himself did not know whether the marriage took place. We do not know his opinion, or if he had an opinion ; but he must have met the question. He and Swift were much together at the time of Vanessa's death, and whenever they met, Stella could not have been far from their thoughts. The circumstances of Vanessa's death were the talk of Dublin. Every one there knew that the alleged marriage

between Swift and Stella had something to do with Vanessa's death. Vanessa may have been wrongly informed about the marriage, but she was a tortured soul, whose thoughts revolved on it. A collection of her papers was in a locked closet of which Berkeley kept the key (see Appendix II). It is not likely that the collection contained nothing but tradesmen's bills. Whether the documents handed by Vanessa to Marshall were kept in that closet we do not know; but we have Stock's explicit statement that several letters which had passed between Cadenus and Vanessa came into Berkeley's hands, that they were not incriminating, but that Berkeley destroyed them because of the warmth of the lady's style.

If there was a secret marriage Berkeley would understand and respect it; for he was a celibate fellow of a college where celibacy was statutory, but where the "cryptogam" was not uncommon, and he would be well accustomed to the notion of the lawful wife who was not recognized in academic circles. But if, on the other hand (as is more probable), there was no marriage, if it was a case of lovers' friendship, Berkeley would have understood it, would have respected it, would have despised the tongue of scandal, and would have refused to join "the brute world howling" which would force them into bonds. Berkeley's continued friendship with Swift over these anxious, burning months guarantees one thing, viz. that Swift's relations with Stella, however unusual, however unfortunate, were essentially correct. Berkeley refused to see his own brother, who years before had been guilty of an immoral act (see below, p. 185), and he would never have condoned a high-placed lovers' friendship that contained an evil thing.

How much the legatees received is not recorded. Berkeley at first expects £3,000; later the figure falls to £2,000¹; but perhaps his first expectation was eventually realized; for an investment of £3,000 constantly appears in his later correspondence with Lord Egmont. A lawsuit with Partinton, the executor of Vanessa's father and brother, delayed the settlement. Prior acted for Berkeley in the Dublin part of the business, receiving 1s in the pound commission. Messrs. Wogan and Aspinwall acted for him in London. There are some thirty letters from Berkeley to Prior dealing with the estate from 1724-27, in which Berkeley often complains of Prior's dilatoriness. Marshall too was dilatory and at times obstructive. He was to have settled the Irish debts,

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 211.

and Berkeley those in England, but Berkeley complains that Marshall did not keep pace with him, and refused to admit debts which he (Berkeley) thought just. Berkeley was impatient to have the business finished at the earliest possible moment, so that he might be free to sail to Bermuda at short notice.

CHAPTER VII

THE BERMUDA PROJECT

LIKE Paul and Patrick, Berkeley heard the call of God and the Western people, and he answered the call and gave the best that was in him. Those who would secularize the undertaking entirely, like those who consider the scheme in terms of the Britain and America of to-day, are almost bound to take a warped view of it, and see it as the chimerical enterprise of a well-meaning, quixotic Irishman. A few in Berkeley's day saw it so. But those who know something of the conditions obtaining then on both sides of the Atlantic, those who follow with intelligence and sympathy the careful steps taken by Berkeley, who watch his project catch the public imagination, win the support of the great, pass the cold scrutiny of the law, draw princely donations from responsible public men, triumph in the King's palace and the people's Parliament, will realize that here was more than the missionary enthusiasm of an individual. Is it too much to say that Berkeley for these years and in his main aim was the embodiment of the higher policy and better spirit of the British people, that he and those who thought with him took the Empire as a sacred trust and tried to follow the star in the discharge of imperial duty? The project was opposed on the ground that it would tend to make the plantations independent; it was defeated ultimately because it placed trade second and the spiritual and moral welfare of Americans first. There were serious flaws in the scheme proposed, and I shall not fail to point them out; but something of the sort could have been done and should have been done. Perhaps Walpole had no option but to turn down the Bermuda project as it stood, but had he dealt with the American colonies in the spirit of that project he might have altered for the better the course of history. The end proposed by Berkeley was noble and statesmanlike; the plan deserved success; and though a failure at the time, it has had a measure of deferred success. Berkeley and his men cast their bread upon the waters and we have found it after many days.¹

The deaneries of Dromore and Derry and the Vanessa legacy

¹ In 1933 at perhaps the darkest period of the "depression," I was at New-haven, and saw the walls of Yale's new residential college, named after Berkeley, rising from their foundations. I also saw there an exhibition commemorating Berkeley's gift of books (see below, p. 147).

became in Berkeley's mind means to this one end. His time, money, energies, and influence were all enlisted in the service of his disinterested ambition. To us it seems strange that a Church dignitary should view his office as a source of income, should delegate the duties and use the stipend to finance a transatlantic project; but so it was, and one can only plead the practice and the outlook of the age, and the over-all philanthropy of the plan. Berkeley did not entirely escape censure on this score in his own day. An Irish bishop wrote to him requiring him to come home, and he was wounded in the house of a friend when Prior in 1729 published his *List of the Absentees of Ireland*, in which Berkeley appears as an absentee, "the yearly value of his estates spent abroad being about £900." Neither Berkeley nor Prior, however, felt it as a moral issue involving dereliction of duty. Prior was an active supporter of the Bermuda project, and had thoughts of accompanying his friend, and he farmed out the deanery on Berkeley's behalf. Berkeley received Prior's "pamphlet" (Fraser, *LL*, p. 183) unperturbed, and wrote a detached, objective criticism, calling it "in the main . . . very seasonable and useful." Absenteeism, to them both, was a problem of economics to be solved by taxation "for the good of the kingdom." And Berkeley taxed himself. To that extent he was a model absentee. His lands brought in about £1,250 a year, out of which he spent about £350 a year in contributions to diocesan charities and in paying curates.

It was an age of missionary enterprise. The Anglican Church was expanding with the expansion of the empire. The Society for the promotion of Christian Knowledge, parent of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, had agents in many parts of the empire, and a developed organization in the American colonies. Berkeley, with his friend Benson, was elected to membership on 7 January 1725.¹ But more than the ordinary missionary motive was at work in his mind. Here was a public question, and public questions never failed to grip him. A bank for Ireland was mooted, and he at once wrote to Percival for his opinion (*B&P*, p. 181). Should England grant free trade to Ireland? He answered, Yes, and sought to convert the politicians to his view.² The South Sea Bubble of 1720-21 gave rise to a host of public questions, and supplied the background to the American project. It lent a sombre tinge to Berkeley's thoughts, made him seek

¹ *Proc. R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 115; 1725 may be "old style" for 1726.

² Fraser, *LL*, p. 183.

moral and spiritual causes of national decline, showed him the old world in decay, and turned his eyes to the west, and his fancy to a new world of heart's desire across the seas. Convinced of the decadence of European culture and ethics, he fixed his hopes on America. A mixture of moral indignation, poetic insight, and prophetic foresight wrought in him, and found expression in his famous lines, his only known serious poem, which he wrote in 1726 under the title AMERICA or THE MUSE'S REFUGE, A PROPHECY, and published in the *Miscellany* (1752), as VERSES by the AUTHOR, ON THE Prospect of planting ARTS and LEARNING in *America*. I give the poem in full, as it expresses the spirit of the Bermuda scheme.¹

The Muse, disgusted at an Age and Clime,
Barren of every glorious Theme,
In distant Lands now waits a better Time,
Producing subjects worthy Fame :

In happy Climes, where from the genial Sun
And virgin Earth such Scenes ensue,
The Force of Art by Nature seems outdone,
And fancied Beauties by the true :

In happy Climes the Seat of Innocence,
Where Nature guides and Virtue rules,
Where Men shall not impose for Truth and Sense,
The Pedantry of Courts and Schools :

There shall be sung another golden Age,
The rise of Empire and of Arts,
The Good and Great inspiring epic Rage,
The wisest Heads and noblest Hearts.

Not such as *Europe* breeds in her decay ;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heav'nly Flame did animate her Clay,
By future Poets shall be sung.

Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way ;
The four first Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day ;
Time's noblest Offspring is the last.

¹ It was penned apparently on 10 February 1726 (see Rand, *B&P*, p. 230, and *Proc.R.I.Acad.* vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 116), and sent to Percival as "wrote by a friend of mine with a view to the scheme," with instructions not to show it outside the family. I give it as published by Berkeley, but its original form is in some lines more forcible ; the following variations should be noted :

Stanza I, 3, 4 Waits now in distant lands for better times,
Producing subjects worthy verse.
" II, 3, 4 Such scenes as shew that fancy is outdone,
And make poetic fiction true.
" VI, 4 The world's great effort is the last.

About May 1722 Berkeley took the resolve, and he told Percival of it ten months later.¹ He will spend the rest of his days in the island of Bermuda. He will build a college there for the education of the sons of English planters and of the native Indians in religion and useful learning. They will come from the mainland of America, and will stay at the island college till they are of M.A. standing; they will then return to their own people fitted to be missionaries. Bermuda is chosen because it is equidistant from the other plantations, and has a carrying trade with all the rest, because of its healthy climate, secure position, and fertile soil, because of the innocence of the inhabitants, and the absence of inducement to turn trader. Amongst the attractions of Bermuda are "the summers refreshed with constant cool breezes, the winters as mild as our May, the sky as light and blue as a sapphire, the ever-green pastures, the earth eternally crowned with fruits and flowers. The woods of cedars, palmettos, myrtles, oranges, etc." Half a dozen of the best men in Trinity College are with him in the plan, and in London there are about a dozen English gentlemen "who intend to retire to these islands, to build villas, and plant gardens, and to enjoy health of body and peace of mind. . . ."

Such in outline was the Bermuda project, which six years later took Berkeley across the Atlantic. It gripped the imagination of the men of his day, and an attempt to revive it was made in the middle of last century.² The project was the talk of Dublin. Five or six fellows of Trinity College were engaged to serve in it. Prior, the practical, supported it, and at one time had thoughts of accompanying his friend. London fell for it. "You will be surprised," wrote Dan Dering to Percival, "when you hear the company he has engaged to go with him. Young and old, learned and rich, all desirous of retiring to enjoy peace of mind and health of body, and of restoring the golden age in that corner of the world."³ The members of the Scriblerus Club met at Lord Bathurst's house for dinner. Berkeley was there. The members rallied him on his project. He listened patiently to their jests and arguments, and then asked to be heard in reply. He put the plan before them with such animation and eloquence that they were struck dumb and carried off their feet. After a pause they

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 203ff. ² see W. C. Dowding, *The revival of Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda College*, 1852. I have Dowding's letter to Primate Lord John Beresford asking him to be patron. ³ Rand, *B&P*, p. 207; for Prior's intentions, see Fraser, *LL*, pp. 110, 123. He might well have acted as bursar of the college.

all rose up together, exclaiming, "Let us set out with him immediately."¹

A good deal of this enthusiasm was ephemeral, and the ideal settlement is not to be confused with the hard core of the proposal, the college. There was room for both, and the widow has left it on record (*Biog. Brit.*, 2nd ed. vol. iii, Corrig. and Add.) that Berkeley drew out plans for both. A plan, no doubt his plan, drawn to scale, is given in the 1784 edition of the Works (vol. ii, p. 419). It shows "The City of Bermuda Metropolis of the Summer Islands" with main street, church, open portico, four markets, public parks and baths, a theatre, academies for music, painting, sculpture, and architecture, the cemetery or "walk of death" with groves of cypress, and the street leading to St. Paul's College "situate in a peninsula a quarter of a mile from the town." The college was to occupy the centre of the "academical circus," consisting of the fellows' houses, each with a large garden; round it was a residential circus, in which many of the houses were actually bespoke; round it again was the third circus composed of shops and artificers' dwellings.

The "still vext Bermoothes" of Shakespeare's Ariel had been idealized by popular imagination.² Andrew Marvell celebrated them in his poem *Bermudas*. Escapists associated them with "the isles of the blest." Houses and estates were named after them. They had become the Summer Islands (from the adventures of Sir George Somers, who was shipwrecked there in 1609). In his *Battel of the Summer-Islands*, a mock heroic description of a battle between the Bermudans and two whales, the poet Edmund Waller had invested the islands with the halo of romance, singing of their oranges and huge lemons, the pearls, the ambergris, and corals, the pure air and sunny climate. *Bermuda* was a magic name:

Heav'n sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst
To shew how all things were created first.

Missionary societies still point their appeals and wing their message with touches of poetry and romance, and Berkeley knew what he was doing when he touched those chords. He may have been slightly over-influenced by the prevailing sentiment, but it is not likely that he personally was carried away by poetry, "kidnapped by Waller" (in Byrd's phrase). His was a philosophical mind, trained and disciplined, accustomed to seek facts, to curb

¹ Warton, *Essay on Pope* (1782), vol. ii, p. 204n. ² see F. S. Boas, *American Scenes*, The English Association, Presidential address, 1944, p. 7ff.

the imagination, to face objections, and to give them their full value. It is not likely that romance overbore his reason in this crucial matter. In his published *Proposal* he uses no extravagant terms about Bermuda, but justifies his choice of it on the grounds of "the correspondence with other parts of America, the goodness of the air, the plenty and security of the place, the frugality and innocence of the inhabitants." Here the first phrase bears the main weight; because of its "correspondence with other parts of America" his choice fell on Bermuda; he admits that it is a long way off from the continent, but says that "if we were to look out a spot the nearest approaching to an equal distance from all the rest, I believe it would be found to be Bermuda." Samuel Johnson of America, who must have known what was in Berkeley's mind, wrote in his autobiography: "Bermuda lies in a spot surrounded with the whole continent of English America; the Dean was therefore made to believe that the most suitable place to answer his intention with regard to the whole, but in this he was misled."¹ Berkeley's geography, not his judgment, was at fault. Good maps were rare then, and it was very hard to get reliable geographical information about distant places.

This was a great pity; for the tragedy of the Bermuda project was just Bermuda. Six hundred miles of ocean separate it from the nearest point of the mainland. Students might have come sixty miles, but not six hundred. The romance of Bermuda won support for the scheme, the facts of Bermuda killed it. The rest was practicable. St. Paul's College, Bermuda, could not succeed, St. Paul's College in Rhode Island or New York could hardly have failed. Beneath the *badinage* of the London wits there is an undercurrent, a sense of responsibility for the spiritual needs of white men and coloured in the plantations. Newman, the gifted secretary of the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge, hit the nail on the head when he wrote² to Berkeley shortly after the latter's arrival in Rhode Island: "I believe you are now satisfied that if you had made a short voyage to America before you published your *Proposal*, you would have very much altered your scheme."

Percival received sympathetically the first account of the project but warns his friend that the support and protection of government are essential; without them he would meet with difficulties of all sorts from persons in office at home and

¹ Schneider and Schneider, *Samuel Johnson*, vol. i, p. 24. ² see below, p. 110, and Allen and McClure, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 244.

abroad.¹ Accordingly Berkeley set himself to secure the necessary influence, and some two years elapsed before he was in a position to take public action.

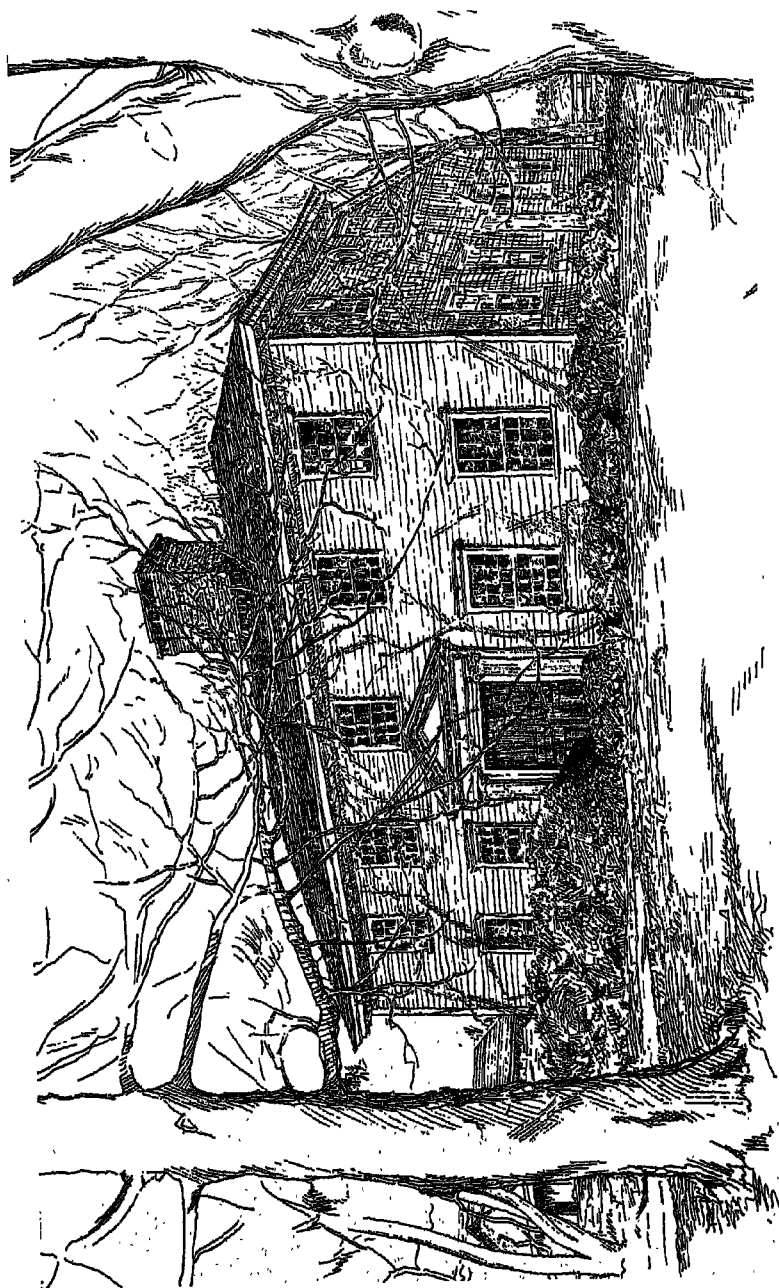
He tells Percival on 5 May 1724 that the Deanery of Derry is a matter of prestige to him, not money. It is said to be worth £1,500 a year, which sum is offset by charges: "But as I do not consider it with an eye to enriching myself, so I shall be perfectly contented if it facilitates and recommends my scheme of Bermuda, which I am in hopes will meet with a better reception when it comes from one possessed of so great a Deanery." After he had been installed he writes to Percival from Elphin on 8 June on his way back from Derry, saying that he has taken possession and has farmed out the tithe lands for £1,250. He speaks highly of the city of Derry and its people, mentions its famous walls which withstood the long siege by King James, and thinks the cathedral "the prettiest in Ireland." The rest of that summer he spent in Dublin, a very excited Dublin. The affair of Wood's half-pence had roused and united the country, and Dean Swift, the writer of the Drapier letters, was the hero of the hour. "Yesterday Wood's effigy was carried in procession by the mob through most of the streets . . . it is hardly possible to express the indignation which all ranks of men shew on this occasion."²

Amid the storm aroused by his pen, Swift found time to write his well-known letter (3 September 1724) on Berkeley's behalf to Lord Carteret, who had recently been appointed Lord Lieutenant and held office till 1730. The letter is given in full by Stock, and is a model of epistolary style, lightly veiling its serious purpose in Swift's best manner with quip and jest. Here is an extract:

There is a gentleman of this kingdom just gone for England; it is Dr George Berkeley, dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, being worth about £1,100 a year. . . . He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past hath been struck with a notion of founding an university at Bermuda, by a charter from the Crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefulest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way of preferment; but in England his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there your excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical (I shall make you remember what you were) of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth a whole

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 209-10. ² *ib.*, p. 221. Note that Percival, a loyal supporter of the Government, and no lover of Swift, was entirely with Swift on this issue.

- 13X Prelim. figs. & definition provable by figs.
as different from those ideas provable by touch
as goes by the sound name.
- + Geometrical incommensurable with sp. figs.
2nd how they can be in my doctrine.
- n 2nd how to reconcile Newton & Gt.
of motion with my doctrine
- X Boundary of surfaces and lines not
complete, perfect ideas, incommensurable per se.
- 13X Polygons, & lines in a world not seen
the figures or cubes to body or extended at
first sight.
- + Extⁿ far from being incompatible with
it is impossible it should exist without them.
Extⁿ of self or any thing extended cannot
think these being mere ideas or perfecting whole
opens no thing by power.
- 13X No extension but ~~that~~ for part preservation
by sight.
- 13m. X We can imagine 2 bowls v.g. moving in
vacuum, only concerning a part affected with
whole perfectly.
- 13m. X Extension to exist in a thing without thing in
contradiction.



WHITEHALL

Berkeley's residence at Newport, R.I. After a drawing by John Howard Benson, and reproduced by kind permission of the Newport *Daily News*

hundred pounds a year for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break, if his deanery be not taken from him, and left to your excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore I do humbly entreat your excellency either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom for learning and virtue quite [? quiet—Ed.] at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design, which however is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage.

Swift's letter mentions a tract that Berkeley was about to publish. This was his *A Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our foreign plantations and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity*. No doubt Berkeley took the MS. with him when he went to London about September 1724, and had it printed there. Percival (*B&P*, p. 223) had seen a copy by 6 February 1725. The *Proposal* is usually dated 1725, the date assigned to it in the *Miscellany*, but the actual date of the first edition is 1724, to be understood probably as "Old Style."

With this publication Berkeley came out into the open, detailed his project and solicited support and subscriptions. Here is a summary of its argument. The faith and morals of the English colonists in America leave much to be desired, and the American Indians are in the same ignorance and barbarism "in which we found them above a hundred years ago." The clergymen sent out thither from England are not, as a rule, highly qualified. The supply is insufficient, and many churches are vacant. Therefore a college must be founded with the double aim of fitting for the ministry the sons of the colonists and of converting the Indians by taking their sons young, before they have learned bad habits, and grounding them in religion, morality, and useful learning. On reaching M.A. standing candidates for the ministry would go to England for ordination, "till such time as episcopacy be established in those parts."¹ Those not fitted for higher education would be taught agriculture and trades. If the king would be pleased to grant a charter to the college, a fund would be raised by private subscription to build and endow it.

Where should the college be situated? The question is carefully discussed. Berkeley saw his America, we must remember, not as a continent in depth, but as a coastal strip of a continent, as a long chain of settlements extending for 1,500 miles of seaboard, where inland communications were difficult or impossible because of the absence of inns, carriages, and bridges, and where in con-

¹ Queen Anne, it is said, had designed to establish four bishoprics in America.
(603)

sequence most of the traffic was sea-borne ; he was catering, he thought, for a sea-minded people. Hence he looked for an island that might serve the whole coastline. General Codrington, who died in 1710, had left his estates in Barbados to found a college there ; but neither it nor the neighbouring islands would be a suitable situation for Berkeley's seminary ; they have too much trade and wealth ; provisions are dear and scarce, and morals dissolute. Nor would the mainland be suitable ; in the populous parts the inhabitants are avaricious and licentious, and by withholding their slaves from baptism they show that they are unwilling to propagate their religion. In the remote parts supply would be a difficulty, and the savages a danger.

Bermuda, on the other hand, meets all the requirements ; equidistant from the islands and the mainland, it has plenty of small trade with them ; it is on the line from Great Britain to America ; it is secure from pirates ; the inhabitants are unspoiled, frugal, and contented ; the students would not be led into vice, or the staff into trade. The climate is mild, the air pure, and the land fertile. The two colleges already existing in America are not prospering ; a college in America would not attract men of the right type for the governing body, men of prudence, zeal, and learning ; but for a college in Bermuda he has already a group of well-qualified associates, men in a good position at home, but ready to spend their lives at Bermuda in teaching the youth of America and in prosecuting their own studies.

Roman Catholic missionaries are active ; why should Protestants lag behind ? The honour of the Crown, of the nation, and of the Church of England is concerned. There are difficulties, no doubt, but they can be overcome by prudence and resolution with the blessing of God. The *Proposal* ends with a well-judged and eloquent appeal to men's charitable instincts, stating that £10 a year, the interest on £200, should be enough to defray the expenses of a young American at the college for one year.

After more than two centuries, with all the changes time has brought, the *Proposal* still reads well. A persuasive document, misinformed indeed on a few points, it contains little that any lover of religion and learning on either side of the Atlantic could take amiss to-day. It is a Church of England document devoid of Anglican propaganda ; the enterprise was frankly episcopalian, but the *Proposal* takes a lofty line, and looks beyond sect and national Church, and over the ocean and beyond all that divides men, and sees the college-to-be as a saving " fountain or reservoir

of learning and religion," with rivulets from it "perpetually issuing forth . . . and streaming through all parts of America."

The postscript of the *Proposal* (1725 edition) marks the first success of the project. The king has been pleased to grant a charter to a college to be erected in Bermuda by the name of St. Paul's College. Dean Berkeley is named as president. There are to be nine fellows of whom three are named, William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King, all three fellows of Trinity College, Dublin.¹ The right to appoint the president is vested in the Crown; the president and the majority of the fellows are to elect fellows; the Bishop of London, for the time being, is to be the visitor, and the Secretary of State for America, for the time being, is to be the chancellor. The president and the fellows can make statutes and confer degrees; they can hold their preferments at home for eighteen months after their arrival in Bermuda. The society is incorporated, can receive benefactions, purchase land, and keep a common seal. All in office under the king are required to aid and assist the project; it is to be financed by charitable subscriptions, and if sufficient funds are forthcoming to provide £60 a year for each, the president and fellows hope to set out for Bermuda in the spring of 1726.

There follows a list of twenty-three persons who are prepared to receive subscriptions, amongst them Dr. Arbuthnot, Archdeacon Benson, the Dean of Chichester, the Dean of Ely, the Master of the Charterhouse, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Newcastle, several London rectors, and bankers, the Treasurer of the S.P.C.K., and the Hon. Augustus Schutz, Master of the Wardrobe to His Royal Highness. Finally, as trustees and overseers of the charity are named the Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter Lord King, High Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for the Plantations in America, and the Bishop of London. It is an impressive list of names and offices. The project has ceased to be the enthusiasm of one man; it is an undertaking championed in high places both in Church and State; it has found supporters over a wide range of society, and is already beginning to wear the appearance of a national enterprise.

¹ Thompson, Rogers, and King had very similar records; they were elected to fellowship, respectively, in 1713, 1716, and 1720; they were co-opted to senior fellowship, respectively, in 1723, 1724, and 1728, and they "went out on College livings," respectively, in 1729, 1730, and 1735. Robert Clayton was elected to fellowship in 1714, co-opted senior fellow in 1724, and he became Bishop of Killala in 1729. That four fellows with good prospects, elected within seven years, should have been willing to serve in the Bermuda mission with Berkeley is a remarkable case of collective missionary zeal.

This impression is confirmed by the recently discovered Petition, and Report of the Law Officers.¹ Berkeley's Petition follows the lines of his *Proposal*, with one interesting addition, viz. an extract from the will of Sir Nathaniel Riche,² with an affidavit of the late Governor of Bermuda, bearing on the will. Riche's will, dated 1635, left land in Bermuda for the maintenance of a free school there, for the education of Indian children to be brought from Virginia or New England or other parts of America. The Petition states that this bequest had not been appropriated in full, and urges that some part of it ought to be available for the college. The point receives favourable comment in the Report, and helps to explain Berkeley's insistence on Bermuda as the site, and on the provision for bringing Indians over from the mainland; he argued, no doubt, that since a man on the spot had thought it feasible in 1635 to bring them over, it ought to be practicable ninety years later.

The Report, dated 15 March 1725, is by the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General. It finds a provision in the scheme by which the college virtually had an educational monopoly in Bermuda, to be contrary to law, and the provision was dropped; it recommends that the statutes should be subject to the approval of the visitor, and the recommendation was adopted. It advises that the royal approval should be required for the election of fellows, and that the provision as to holding preferments at home should be modified (both apparently were disregarded). These details apart, the only objection of substance urged by the law officers is the absence of adequate financial provision for the college; but they regard that objection as met partially by the prospect of voluntary aid and by a reasonable expectation of benefiting under the Riche will, and they certify "that we are of opinion that the design mentioned in the said petition may be of a very useful tendency and fit to receive your Majesty's royal encouragement, and that your Majesty may by letters patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain lawfully erect in the islands of Bermuda such a college as is described in the petition."

These terse approving words by trained legal minds remove the project from the realm of the quixotic and chimerical. The end proposed was beyond a doubt good and reasonable, and if

¹ Found by Dr. Chart in the Record Office, London, and published by me in *Hermathena*, vol. xxxiii, 1933. The Report is referred to in Berkeley's letter to Prior of 20 April 1725 (Fraser, *LL*, p. 111), along with reports from the Bishop of London, and the Board of Trade and Plantations. ² see letter to Prior of 27 February 1727, Fraser, *LL*, p. 141.

statesmen had taken a more enlightened view of that end, and if Berkeley had considered the means in greater detail, and especially if he had made a trial trip across the Atlantic first, his college in the New World might have been built, and might have initiated a wiser colonial policy, and might have altered the course of history.

Berkeley was *persona grata* with royalty, and about this period he must have been often at the Court. His poem speaks of "the pedantry of courts," and he spoke from knowledge; but it is clear that the royal family not only noticed and patronized him, but showed him real kindness and furthered his plans. In Queen Anne's reign he had been presented by Swift, and in the next reign he was introduced to the Prince of Wales and his princess by his former pupil, Molyneux. The princess, afterwards (1727) Queen Caroline, had met Leibniz, and took a lasting interest in philosophy, and both as princess and as queen she conducted something like a philosophical *salon*. Once, if not twice a week, Berkeley and Dr. Clarke met in debate at St. James's, with Sherlock seconding the former and Hoadly the latter. All the authorities agree on this point; but Mrs. Eliza Berkeley adds that the prince presented him with a magnificent gold medal; and Mrs. Anne Berkeley, the widow, adds that he felt the fruitless debates as drudgery, but submitted in the hope of winning favour for his American project, as he clearly did. What took place after his return from America is not quite so clear; for while Stock says that the Queen often commanded his attendance to discourse on America, he himself says in 1734 that he had only been to Court once in the previous seven years.¹

Before dealing with the final phase of the project—the provision of supply—I will outline Berkeley's movements during his long campaign. Installed as dean in Derry Cathedral in May or June 1724, he left Ireland about September of that year and went to London to publish his *Proposal*, and make interest for the project. In January 1725 he preached at the Temple Church, and being elected a member of the Society for the promotion of Christian Knowledge (see above, p. 95), he came into contact with Henry Newman, its secretary, who as adviser on American matters rendered him great assistance.

He spent the spring and summer in obtaining his charter. On 24 May we find him dining with Percival²; in July he was taken

¹ Fraser, *LL*, pp. 210–11; see below, p. 155n. ² *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii, p. 28; Fraser, *LL*, p. 119.

by Ford to see Bolingbroke, but the latter was out of town ; he was in touch with the Earl of Oxford and with Pope. In September after his exertions of the summer he felt in need of a change, and began a tour of eight or nine counties of England. Roads and weather were bad. He seems to have travelled through both eastern counties and western ; for in October Newman reports that Berkeley has been on a journey into Norfolk and has not yet returned,¹ and on 15 October we find him at Flaxley, Glos., for the second time.² On 2 December he is "just returned from a long ramble through the country to London, where I am settled in my old lodging at Mr. Fox's." On 10 February 1726 he is in London with Dan Dering. That spring Swift returned to London at the height of his literary fame, and the two friends must have met there, though I have not found a record of their doing so.

Berkeley speaks of going to Ireland about this time, but he was afraid to do so while the grant was in suspense, and he appears to have been tied to London for all the summer, autumn, and winter of 1726. In August he left his old lodging,³ and went to lodge with the artist Smibert "in the little piazza, Covent Garden," where no doubt the Smibert portrait (1728) of him, now in the National Portrait Gallery, was painted. The Vanessa business is not yet finished, and Smibert helps him with an auction of Vanessa's pictures. That summer Prior mentions rumours about marriage, and Berkeley parries with the jest. "As I have been often married by others, so I assure you I have never married myself."⁴

An air of mystery surrounds his movements in 1727 and 1728 (early), probably connected either with the Bermuda business or with his approaching marriage or with both. In the spring of 1727 a visit to Ireland is in prospect : it is to be a secret visit for several reasons which he does not specify. He has to transact business with his associates, but even they are not to know in advance of his coming. He will take the name of Mr. Brown, and Prior is to rent for him for half a year a small house within a mile of Dublin. He wants "a snug, private place" with a bit of a garden, in Rathmines or near St. Kevin's.⁵ His plans were

¹ *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 116 ; presumably this was the occasion of his two days' visit to Cambridge ; see *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii, p. 43. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 115. ³ Fraser, *LL*, pp. 127, 131-32, 139 ; on Smibert, see below, p. 113. ⁴ Fraser, *LL*, p. 134. ⁵ see Fraser, *LL*, p. 143, and the other letters of the period. Eventually he lodged at a house in St. Mary's parish (p. 218) : "The place called Bermuda" (p. 149) is an estate in the suburbs of Dublin ; it has been identified by the researches of Mrs. Post, and is, I think, somewhere in the Pembroke district.

changed owing to the death of King George I, but the interruption was not serious, and by 21 July 1727 he is expecting to go to Dublin within a fortnight, and he will want the house for one month. He may have crossed to Dublin in that summer, and the six months' gap in the Prior correspondence makes it probable that he did so, but we cannot be sure. On 20 February 1728 he is in London, silent about a visit already paid (if there was one), and still proposing to set out for Dublin in about a month, and still wanting a retired house and secrecy. In April 1728 he is still in London, awaiting the arrival of Dr. Clayton, but he seems to have crossed to Dublin in that or the following month. Secrecy instructions occur in seven letters of this year, some of them reminiscent of a detective novel. The visit was partly to conclude the business of the Vanessa estate, partly to embark his books, and partly to make final arrangements with his associates in Trinity College; but none of those purposes would seem in the ordinary way to require secrecy, and we have therefore to suppose that he had become such a public personage that his movements were "news," and that the secrecy attending his visit to Dublin was part of his general plan for slipping off to America without fuss or leave-taking. We know for certain that he was in Dublin on 7 June 1728, because we have the letter he wrote on that day from Dublin to Bryan Fairfax announcing that his library consisting of 58 boxes of books and instruments was on board ship, consigned to London.¹

We return now to the Bermuda project itself. We have watched it take shape in Berkeley's mind and in his *Proposal*; we have seen it embodied in a charter and approved by the Crown, by dignitaries of the Church, and by high officers of State. We now come to the most dramatic phase—its submission to Parliament for approval by the representatives of the British people with a view to its endowment at the public expense.

The charter cost Berkeley "130 pounds dry fees, besides expedition money to men in office"; it passed all the seals and was in Berkeley's hands early in June 1725. By the following December subscriptions to the amount of £3,400 had come in²—not a large sum considering the magnitude of the undertaking and the generosity of the few subscribers whose names are on record. The original intention had been to finance the scheme by private subscription, helped out by Riche's "school lands"; but now it had become clear that public money would be required

¹ see *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 99.

² Rand, *B&P*, p. 227.

too. As early as September 1725 Berkeley tells Prior, "I have good assurance that our College will be endowed beyond anything expected or desired hitherto," and in February 1726 he speaks even more explicitly, "I am in a fair way of having a very noble endowment for the College of Bermuda. . . . I have gained the consent of the government. . . ." ¹

Berkeley himself deserves much credit for this striking turn of affairs. He was not content with advocating the scheme; he found out a way of paying for it. There were certain lands in the island of St. Christopher (St. Kitts), in the West Indies, ceded by France to Britain under the treaty of Utrecht, which were to be sold for the public use. Berkeley, we learn from Stock, found out that they were worth much more than the sum expected from the sale, and he proposed that part of the revenue from the sale should be ear-marked for the college. A Venetian friend, the Abbé Gualteri, whom he had met in Italy, carried "this proposal directly to King George I, who laid his commands on Sir Robert Walpole to introduce and conduct it through the House of Commons." ²

This circumstantial account must be true in the main; for without the king's intervention matters could not have gone as far as they did, nor could Berkeley have spoken to Prior with such confidence. Delay followed the new turn of events. The King's stay abroad meant a late meeting of Parliament. The original plan had been to sail in the spring of 1725, but in March of that year Berkeley tells Prior that it may be a year before he sails. ³ In April and May 1726 the matter was before the House, and was debated, apparently, on 12 May. Opposition came from city men and traders and those of narrowly commercial views. Some "great men" were afraid that the college would lessen the dependence of the colonies on England; but no one spoke openly against it, and when it was put to the House only two members voted against it, and so the Commons by an extraordinary majority "voted an address to His Majesty that he would be pleased to make such grant out of the lands of St. Christopher's for the endowment thereof as to him shall seem proper." ⁴ A few days later the King sent "a very gracious reply."

¹ Fraser, *LL*, pp. 114, 123. ² A visit to a Cardinal Gualtieri is described at length in Berkeley's Italian Journal (MS. 39307). It should be noted that the Hon. Augustus Schutz, Master of the Wardrobe to His Royal Highness, is named in the *Proposal*, and that Colonel Schutz is a friend of Percival. Rand, *B&P*, p. 288; *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xii, c. 4, p. 156. Stock's account is confirmed by Berkeley's letter, Rand, *B&P*, p. 229. ³ Fraser, *LL*, p. 124. ⁴ Rand, *B&P*, p. 231.

Berkeley had now his charter and the authority of King and Parliament for a sufficient grant ; it might seem as if his troubles were over. There was, however, continued opposition¹ in the Cabinet, though the King ordered the warrant to be drawn. Those in charge of the drafting were the Solicitor-General, Baron Scroop, and Mr. Hutchinson, a friend of Berkeley. The situation was complicated, for in the previous July a commission had been appointed to report on the quantity and value of the Crown lands in St. Christopher, and until the report was received and the lands sold or farmed, the Treasury was unwilling or unable to make a definite grant to Berkeley. A conference with the Solicitor-General and Mr. Hutchinson was held on 1 December to decide how this could best be done without embarrassing the Treasury. "The method agreed on is by a rent-charge on the whole Crown lands, redeemable upon the Crown's paying twenty thousand pounds for the use of the president and fellows of St. Paul's and their successors."² Berkeley expressed himself as satisfied with this agreement, which looks definite and was carried through in legal form. It was, however, defective in one important particular, viz. that no time or time limit for the execution of the agreement was fixed ; and on this point Walpole subsequently seized, as we shall see below (p. 142).

Before we cross the Atlantic with Berkeley and his party there are two or three minor matters to be discussed. First, why did he go before the Treasury grant was received, and why did he go in comparative secrecy ? The two questions are one, and Berkeley answers them.³ He was in a difficult position before he left England ; he had received a large sum in private subscriptions, and the story had been circulated that he was not in earnest with the scheme, and the only convincing proof to the contrary was to sail ; but if he had done so in a public manner with leave-taking and farewell meetings, as the publicity accorded to the undertaking would warrant, if not require, the other horn of the dilemma came into action. The imprudence of leaving before the grant was received became glaring, and would have been condemned by some of the best friends of the undertaking. The double source of endowment, private subscription and public grant, was thus the root of this difficulty.

Then why did he sail to Rhode Island and not to Bermuda ? It was not a case of accident, or by stress of weather, as some have thought. He was definitely bound for Newport, and he tells

¹ see Rand, *B&P*, p. 235 ; Fraser, *LL*, p. 138. ² *ib.*, p. 139. ³ Rand, *B&P*, p. 251.

Prior and Percival so in his farewell letters. He avoided Bermuda because by the charter his deanery would be vacated eighteen months after his arrival there. He had not abandoned Bermuda, but this voyage was in the nature of a trial trip. He was already doubting the wisdom of locating the college in Bermuda ; but if he ultimately did so he would need an estate on the mainland to supply the college with provisions. On the other hand, the mainland might be the better situation for the college ; for either purpose Newport in Rhode Island was a fitting place.

Berkeley knew of Rhode Island from Henry Newman, and I must now say something of this remarkable man, who has scarcely even been mentioned by the biographers of Berkeley, though he was deeply concerned in the Bermuda scheme, and for a time acted virtually as its London agent.

Newman was born in New England, studied at Harvard, and was librarian there from 1690 to 1693. He went to London on legal business for his college, then a small corporation. He stayed on in London, and became the secretary of the Society for the promotion of Christian Knowledge from 1708 till his death in 1743. He was a man of affairs, a man of amazing industry, with all the instincts of a trained librarian. Thousands of letters, copied by him, classified, and indexed, are (or were till recently) in the Society's muniment room in Northumberland Avenue, London. In Box C21, especially in vols. 3-5, I found many references to the Bermuda project, three letters by Berkeley, and some to him.¹ Newman was an influential man, known on both sides of the Atlantic, and he was in a position to be of the greatest use to Berkeley. Just before Berkeley sailed, Newman wrote eight letters, which survive in copy, to introduce him and his friends to prominent persons in the New World ; these letters show that Berkeley was bound for Rhode Island, and meant to use it as a base for Bermuda, if unable to effect a transfer of the college. Through Newman Berkeley would have a working knowledge of the state of affairs in America ; he would know of Massachusetts and her boundary question, of Connecticut and her old dispute with Rhode Island, of Rhode Island then in high favour with the Court, of Anglicanism advancing at Yale, declining at Harvard. In all the American business Newman was in a position to be, and in fact actually was, Berkeley's right-hand man.

¹ see Allen and McClure, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, and my article, *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, pp. 103-5.

Shortly before sailing Berkeley married ¹ Anne, eldest daughter of John Forster, who had been Recorder of Dublin, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons (1707-9) and Chief Justice. Her fortune was about £1,500. Bishop Forster, who assisted at Berkeley's consecration, was her uncle. Berkeley writes, "I chose her for the qualities of her mind and her unaffected inclination to books. She goes with great cheerfulness to live a plain farmer's life and wear stuff of her own spinning-wheel." ² These words are an allusion to Swift's campaign for the promotion of Irish industry, and they imply a community of political and economic outlook. London commercial interests actually urged it against Berkeley's project that his wife wore home-spun. The words do not imply that Anne Berkeley was a patient nonentity, or mere domesticated *hausfrau*. On the contrary, she was a strong, capable, and many-sided personality, as is suggested by her fine features in the Smibert group, and in her portrait, attributed to Smibert, which is, or was, in the Master's House, Berkeley College, Yale. She was well educated, and had an able pen. She managed relief works at Cloyne employing one hundred men, carrying out the supervision and direction in person. A "farmer's life" was no empty phrase in her case; for they had a hundred acres to farm at Whitehall, and much more in the glebe at Cloyne. Her "inclination to books" was lasting. Her rough notes in the Chapman MS. (Trinity College Library) name some of the books she read or proposed to read, and her letters are those of a highly cultured person. She was a mystic, and is said to have been a follower of Fénelon and Madame de Guyon. Her letters, published in the *Yale University Library Gazette* (vol. viii, No. 1, July 1933), show her intensely interested in the writings of Dr. Hooke. W. S. Johnson met her at the house of her son George, apparently about 1767, and writing to his father, then President of King's College, New York, he says, "She is the finest old lady I ever saw, sensible, lively, facetious, and benevolent . . . she received me very affectionately, and remembered America and you in particular with great regard, and was pleased to say that the Bishop and she had more pleasure in your acquaintance than any other person's while they were in that country." In 1780 her son wrote that her powers of mind were "as great as ever, and very few persons

¹ Stock gives the date of the marriage as 1 August 1728. Fraser found no record in the Dublin Registry, and infers that they were married in England. This inference is supported by the fact that Berkeley tells Prior, whom he must have seen in Dublin a few weeks previously, who the lady is. See Fraser, *LL*, p. 151, and Rand, *B&P*, p. 236. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 236. A spinning-wheel is still shown in Whitehall, R.I.

have exceeded her in this respect." She died at Langley in Kent 27 May 1786 in her eighty-sixth year.¹

The Dean and his bride had four travelling companions, Miss Handcock, and Messrs. Dalton, James, and Smibert. Miss Handcock, "my lady Handcock's daughter,"² was probably daughter of Sir William Handcock, who had been Recorder of Dublin, and was an ancestor of the Castlemain family. Beyond the facts that she was Mrs. Berkeley's friend, and that Percival reports an idle rumour that she was to marry Smibert, nothing is known of her. She appears in Smibert's painting of the group at Boston, but whether she stayed in America or returned with the Berkeleys we have no way of judging.³

Dalton and James were men of means, travelling for pleasure. They left the ship at Virginia, where James stayed till the spring. Dalton followed Berkeley to Newport overland. They seem all to have foregathered there, but in March 1730 Berkeley reports that James, Dalton, and Smibert had gone to Boston, and had been there for four months.⁴ They did not return with the Berkeleys to England.

James became Sir John James of Bury St. Edmunds in 1736; and on his succession Berkeley wrote him a letter which was later published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. 101, 1831, p. 99); from it we learn that they had lost touch for three years, but that now James has returned to England, and Berkeley invites him to Cloyne. He was not married, and he intended, it is said, to make Berkeley his heir, but Berkeley would not permit it. Shortly before his death, which occurred on 28 September 1741, James contemplated joining the Roman Church, and Berkeley wrote him a long letter, still extant (an important pronouncement on the Roman controversy).⁵

Richard Dalton⁶ of Lincolnshire is described in the Preface of Monck Berkeley's *Poems* as "Berkeley's learned, agreeable friend." In Smibert's portrait of the group Dalton is acting as amanuensis to the Dean's dictation. He and James took a house

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 356; for a further appreciation of Mrs. Berkeley, see below, p. 180, for her criticisms of Stock's *Life*, see *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd ed., vol. iii, Corrigenda and Addenda. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 151; cf. p. 153. ³ Note "Mr. James, Dalton, Smibert, etc. are at Boston" (Fraser, *LL*, p. 173). Who is (or are) the "etc."?

⁴ Rand, *B&P*, p. 238; cf. Berkeley to Benson, 11 April 1729: "James is not yet arrived from Virginia. Dalton hath been here some time; he and Smibert are now at Boston, where they propose passing a few daies"; letter recently published by me in *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. li, c. 4. ⁵ see Fraser, *LL*, pp. 269ff, and below, p. 178.

⁶ *ib.*, p. 153.

in Boston for a time.¹ Dalton played chess, was thrice married, and Berkeley about 1741 wrote him a letter of congratulation on the third marriage.²

John Smibert³ was the pioneer of portrait painting in America, and through him Berkeley succeeded in his design of planting one of the arts, at least, in America. He was born at Edinburgh in 1684; he went to Italy in 1717 to study, and he met Berkeley there. Returning to England in 1720, he practised as a portrait painter. Berkeley lodged with him in Covent Garden in 1726, and he helped Berkeley in arranging an auction of Vanessa's pictures.⁴ In America he was for a time at Newport, and accompanied Berkeley into the Narragansett country, where he painted a portrait of Dr. McSparran. He is said to have seen a likeness between the Tartars⁵ and the Indians. He opened a studio at Boston and painted portraits of the principal inhabitants. He married Mary Williams in America, and they had two children. He seems to have spent the rest of his life at Boston, where he died in March 1751.

One of Berkeley's letters⁶ to him is extant, which shows that by 1735 he had a wife and family, and that he was not too well off. Berkeley suggests to him that he should leave Boston and settle in Cork, where "there be more faces to paint, and better pay for painting, and yet nobody to paint them." Smibert's best known work is the portrait of Berkeley and his companions, done in Boston just before Berkeley set sail for London; it was obtained in 1808 by Yale University, where it now hangs. A smaller version of the picture, attributed to Smibert himself, with a key, is in the National Portrait Gallery, Dublin. Several portraits by him are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Besides the group Smibert painted at least two other portraits of Berkeley; one of these is in the National Portrait Gallery, London; it was presented in 1882 by Prebendary W. J. Irons, D.D.; in earlier catalogues its date is given as 1725; the later catalogues give 1728. Another Smibert portrait of Berkeley is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

This little company, the Dean and his bride, Miss Handcock, and Messrs. James, Dalton, and Smibert, gathered at Gravesend in the first week of September 1728 and took ship for America.

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 255. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 266. ³ see *Dictionary of National Biography* under Smibert. ⁴ Fraser, *LL*, p. 142, and above, p. 106. ⁵ see Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, p. 161n, and Updike, *History of the Narragansett Church*, p. 523. ⁶ Fraser, *LL*, p. 240.

Berkeley wrote letters of farewell to Percival on the third of the month, and to Prior on the fifth ; but there was no public leave-taking or general announcement of the departure. Letters for Berkeley were directed to Thos. Corbett, Esq., at the Admiralty Office in London, and were thence forwarded to Rhode Island.¹

¹ Official communications about the College had, apparently, already gone direct to Bermuda from St. James'. Mrs. Bertha B. Davis (Chairman of the Whitehall Preservation Committee for the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America) informs me that she found at Bermuda among the Colonial Papers for May 1727 an authority, countersigned "Hollis Newcastle," for the election of six new fellows of St. Paul's College at Bermuda to make up the number of nine (see above p. 103). Mrs. Davis also tells me that the charter of the College is in the possession of the Bermuda Historical Society.

CHAPTER VIII

IN AMERICA

THE voyage was long and stormy. Their ship of 250 tons was "a long time blundering about the ocean,"¹ and had been reported lost; but eventually they reached Virginia and put in there. Berkeley was received with honour, and dined with the Governor, William Gooch, and the "principal inhabitants" showed him great attention. William Byrd, Percival's friend, was away on a boundary commission, but on his return to Virginia he wrote to Percival (*B&P*, p. 244) the long letter which is the source of our knowledge of Berkeley's brief stay there. Berkeley visited the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, and expressed himself as well pleased with it. His mission was educational, and this early contact with American education must have been of great interest to him. Two of the party, James and Dalton, here left the ship and made their way overland separately to Newport. The Berkeleys continued the voyage northwards to Rhode Island, and after a speedy passage they rounded the point into Narragansett Bay and anchored in Newport, 23 January 1729.

"Yesterday arrived here Dean Berkley of Londonderry in a pretty large ship. He is a gentleman of middle stature, of an agreeable, pleasant, and erect aspect. He was ushered into the town with a great number of gentlemen, to whom he behaved himself after a very complaisant manner. 'Tis said he purposes to tarry here with his family about three months."² The ship had put into a neighbouring port, whence Berkeley sent word of their approach to the Rev. James Honeyman, the Rector of Newport, of whom Berkeley would know through their mutual friend Newman. Berkeley's letter was delivered, we are told, to Mr. Honeyman in the pulpit. "He opened it and read it to the congregation,

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 238, 241. For an account, misinformed on several points, of the departure from Gravesend, see the *Historical Register* for 1728. ² From Bull's Memoir in Updike's *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett*, pp. 394ff. The letter giving the description was published, according to Fraser, in the *New England Weekly Courier* of 3 February, according to Bull in the *New England Journal*, Boston, of 3 September. Bull is clearly mistaken when he says that the captain, having been unable to find Bermuda, put in to Newport by accident.

from the contents of which it appeared the Dean might be expected to land in Newport every moment. The Church was dismissed with the blessing, and Mr. Honeyman, with the wardens, vestry, church and congregation, male and female, repaired immediately to the Ferry Wharf, where they arrived a little before the Dean, his family and friends."

Rhode Island State, founded in 1636 by Roger Williams, was small in size, but was distinguished by its enlightened principles, which granted complete freedom of religious belief to its members. Newport and Providence were then the only townships of importance. Berkeley gives two sets of figures for the population of Newport, 5,000 and 6,000. The census figures of the two towns for 1730 are :¹

	Whites	Negroes	Indians
Newport	3,843	649	248
Providence	3,707	128	81

Newport with its ten-mile drive along the ocean front, now bordered by imposing summer residences, is the principal town of the long, narrow island between the estuaries of the rivers Providence and Sakonnet, which gives its name to Rhode Island State. The road from Boston through Providence is now carried over to the island by the mile-long Mount Hope bridge between Bristol and Portsmouth. In the interior of the island at Middletown, some three or four miles from Newport, the motorist sees road signs pointing the way to Whitehall, Berkeley's home ; thence it is but a step to St. Columba's Chapel, built in his memory ; and thence a walk of a mile brings one to Sachuest Beach, where rise the gaunt "Hanging Rocks," in whose shade Berkeley often thought and wrote.

A busy seaport, with a good harbour and a thriving coast-wise trade, Newport could offer Berkeley what he came to seek. He found the scenery delightful, the climate like that of Italy north of Rome, but not quite so cold. "The land is pleasantly diversified with hills, vales, and rising grounds. Here are also some amusing rocky scenes. There are not wanting several fine rivulets and groves. The sea, too, mixed with capes and adjacent islands, makes very delightful prospects."²

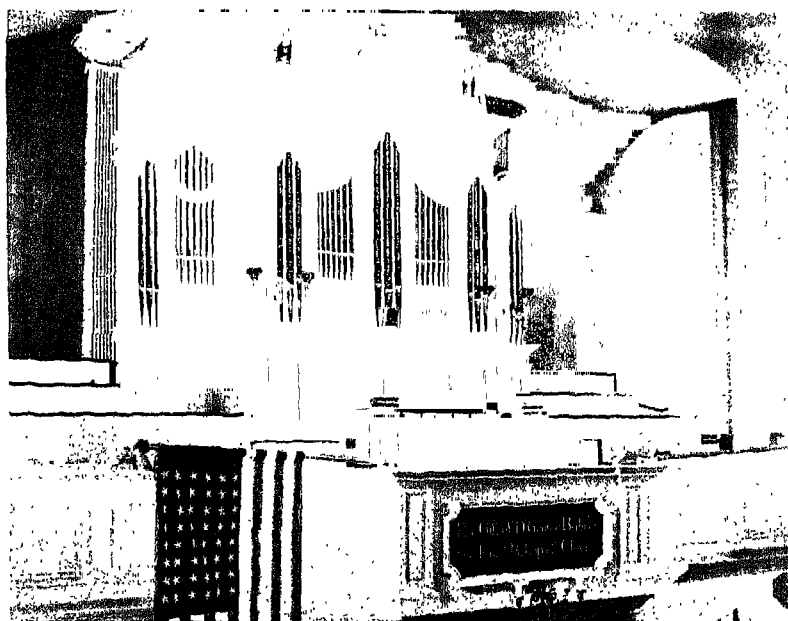
The inhabitants were industrious ; in religion a strange mixture of persuasions, all agreeing, however, on one point, viz. that the Church of England is the second-best. There were Churchmen,

¹ From W. B. Weeden, *Early Rhode Island*, p. 219. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 240.



TRINITY CHURCH, NEWPORT, R I

where Berkeley often officiated, and where his daughter Lucia is buried. This picture and those overleaf are here reproduced by kind permission of the Rector and congregation of the church.



TRINITY CHURCH
showing the pulpit, and the organ presented by Berkeley

Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, four sorts of Anabaptists, and many unprofessed. Yet religious disputes were fewer than elsewhere, and people lived at peace with their neighbours. Berkeley foresaw the coming prosperity of the place, and gives Prior a broad hint to invest money in the island.¹

Here Berkeley lived for two years and eight months ; he visited fairly often the adjacent parts of the mainland ; but he does not seem to have crossed the borders of Rhode Island State till he went to Boston to take ship for England. This restraint in a confirmed traveller is noteworthy. His friends and travelling companions had a house in Boston, and he had introductions there ; but evidently he thought he could best serve the purpose of his mission by settling in Rhode Island and waiting for the promised grant, avoiding all appearance of interference in local politics or other colonial affairs.

On landing and for several weeks afterwards the Berkeleys stayed in the house of the Honeymans. The Rev. James Honeyman (or Honyman) was the only episcopal clergyman in the island, and Berkeley describes him as "a person of very good sense and merit on all accounts."² Of Scottish descent, he was in 1704 appointed by the Society for the propagation of the Gospel their missionary in charge of Trinity Church, Newport ; he had also under his care Freetown, Tiverton, and Little Compton ; for a time he seems to have had charge of Providence, for he writes to tell Bernon that he is coming to preach there ; he preached in Narragansett, too, till McSparran took charge there in 1719. In 1709 he wrote to the secretary of the Society underlining the need for episcopal supervision. He applied for an increase of stipend in 1732, and Berkeley recommended the application to the Society on 16 January 1733. In his application Honeyman claimed that owing to his labours, under God, his was the finest Church of England congregation between New York and Boston, a distance of 300 miles. He died on 2 July 1750 after a faithful and successful ministry of nearly fifty years. His tombstone in Newport churchyard speaks of him as "A strong asserter of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and yet with the arm of charity embraced all sincere followers of Christ."

An account must be given of his church, for it is rich in historical associations ; it is one of the fine old colonial buildings, and it has a double connection with Trinity College, Dublin. Trinity College

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 160. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 241 ; cf. Updike, *op. cit.*, pp. 146ff, 394.
(803)

sent a fellow to Trinity Church, Newport, in the person of Berkeley, and Trinity Church sent a fellow to Trinity College in the person of Arthur Brown. The Reverend Marmaduke Brown, a graduate of Dublin University, went to America as a missionary in 1730. In 1760 he became Rector of Newport, where he died eleven years later. His only son, Arthur, went to Ireland for his education, won a fellowship in Trinity College, and in due course became Senior Fellow, Professor of Greek, and Member of Parliament. His portrait is in the Provost's house.

Trinity Church, Newport, was founded by Sir Francis Nicholson, a soldier by profession, who was Governor of Maryland from 1694-99. Under his patronage and with the aid of the leading gentlemen of the town, the church was in 1702 "finished all on the outside, and the inside pewed well, but not beautiful." The Society came to its aid in that year, appointed Honeyman soon after, and presented a library of theological books. In 1709 Queen Anne presented a bell, still sometimes tolled, and gold communion plate, not now in use. Nathaniel Kay, Berkeley's friend, liberally endowed the church school. The congregation grew, and a new church on the site of the old one was completed in 1726. "The body of the building was 70 feet long, and 46 feet wide. It had two tiers of windows, was full of pews, and had galleries all round to the east end. It was acknowledged by the people of that day to be the most beautiful timber structure in America."¹

It still stands, and is still in constant use. I visited it in 1933, and took note of it as a handsome, spired building on rising ground overlooking the wharves. Its white-painted interior is well kept, and it would seat, I reckoned, about 800; on the ground are box pews; above is a raised gallery round the church. The pulpit with its sounding-board is high and central, screening the altar. The organ set in the gallery at the west end is inscribed, "Presented A.D. 1733," and a plaque records that it was "the gift of Dr George Berkeley, late Lord Bishop of Cloyne." The original altar is there with candlesticks of Sheffield silver. George Washington worshipped in the church. The gallery contains a box formerly used by slaves and prisoners.

In this church Berkeley preached on 26 January, three days after his arrival; he avoided controversial topics, made the distinction between natural and revealed religion, and aimed simply at moral and spiritual uplift. Many times subsequently

¹ see Bull's Memoir, Updike, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

he occupied this pulpit.¹ Lodowick Updike reports that when he was a boy his father often took him to hear Berkeley preach there. "Like all really learned men, the Dean was tolerant in religious opinion, which gave him great and deserved popularity with all denominations. All sects rushed to hear him; even the Quakers with their broad-brimmed hats came and stood in the aisles. In one of his sermons he very emphatically said, "Give the devil his due, John Calvin was a great man."²

Berkeley himself confirms the tenor of this report, but shows that his conciliatory attitude and breadth of mind were consistent with definite views and strong churchmanship, when he writes to Percival: "For the first three months I resided at Newport and preached regularly every Sunday, and many Quakers and other sectaries heard my sermons in which I treated only those general points agreed by all Christians. But on Whitsunday (the occasion being so proper) I could not omit speaking against that spirit of delusion and enthusiasm which misleads these people. . . . Till then they almost took me for one of their own to which my every day dress, being only a strait-bodied black coat without plaits on the sides or superfluous buttons, did not a little contribute."³

The number of religious persuasions in Rhode Island greatly impressed the Berkeleys. Eliza, the daughter-in-law, in her Preface to her son's poems (p. cccli), tells that she has often heard her husband and his mother, who was there, say that there were

¹ His texts on his first Sunday were Luke xvi 16, and 1 Cor. i 21. The outline of the sermon is in the Berkeley Papers, and was published by Fraser, *LL*, p. 629. It was preached again "in ye Narragansett country" on 11 May 1729. Other texts and sermon notes of the period are:

Rom. viii 13 Newport 2 March 1729
 Rom. xiv 17 1st Sunday in July 1729
 1 Tim. iii 16, John i 14 Newport 3 August 1729
 Heb. xii 22-23 Newport 1st Sunday in September 1729
 Jas. iv 11 (no place or date)
 Acts ii 38 Newport 1st Sunday in October 1729
 Matt. xxii 37-38 Newport 1st Sunday in August 1730
 1 Cor. xv 20 (no place or date)
 Luke xxii 19, 1 Cor. xi 26 "May 11" Newport
 Ps. xv "Lord who shall abide" (no date)
 Luke ii 14 (no place or date)
 1 Tim. iii 16 Boston 12 September 1731

The topics covered in these sermons include: essentials and unessentials, toleration, the divinity of our Lord, fasting, the Church, the sacraments, infant baptism, the baptism of slaves, immortality. The list does not show any systematic line of thought or theological development. Berkeley also went to Quakers' assemblies and preached, discarding the surplice; see *Proc. R.I. Acad.* xlii, c. 6, p. 104. The Baptist Elder Corner notes in his diary (R.I. Historical Soc.) that he, with Mr. J. Adams, waited on him 14 July 1729, and was "kindly treated."

² Updike, *op. cit.*, p. 120. ³ Rand, *B&P*, p. 254.

sixteen different sects within a circumference of twenty miles, that to change one's religion was a common thing, and that it was a common feature of a bargain to stipulate that if one changed, one would change to the Church of England.¹

She adds with a slight touch of malice that the men and women of all persuasions were agreed in one point, a rage for finery, to the great amusement of Sir John James and Richard Dalton, who had evidently spoken to her of it. Men wore "flaming scarlet coats and waistcoats, laced and fringed with the brightest glaring yellow. The sly Quakers, not venturing on these charming coats and waistcoats, yet loving finery, figured away with plate at their sideboard, or rather *beaufait*." One sent to England for a large teapot of solid gold, and had it made on purpose. Drinking tea one day with *friend* Berkeley, he asked him whether he had ever seen such a curious thing. Berkeley said that silver ones were much in use in England, but that he had never seen a gold one, and Ebenezer replied, "Aye, that was the thing. I was resolved to have something finer than anybody else. They say that the Queen has not got one."

The people of Newport were distinguished even in those early days by their love of learning; and cultural interests provided a common bond and meeting ground for those of differing persuasions. In this congenial field the stimulus of Berkeley's advent was decisively felt, and has left a lasting mark on local civic life. In 1730 a number of learned and public-spirited men there, stimulated and encouraged by Berkeley's presence, and guided by his counsel, formed a Literary and Philosophical Society, to which the Redwood Library and Athenaeum traces its foundation directly, and which fostered the spirit of learned research represented also by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

A document² dated 2 February 1735 in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society opens with the statement: "Whereas in A.D. 1730 Messrs. Daniel Updike, Peter Bours, James Searing, Edward Scott, Henry Collins, Nathan Townsend, Jeremiah Condry, and James Honeyman Junr. did form a Society for the promotion of knowledge and virtue, by a free conversation according to several regulations by them agreed: We the present members of the said Society, finding it necessary on many accounts

¹ She adds in confirmation that she had been told the same thing by Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, who often sent them "two immense double barrels of fine American New-town pippins, the finest growing on Long Island of which his elder brother was proprietor." ² see the *Annals of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum* (1891), by G. C. Mason, p. 12ff.

for the more effectual answering the end of our institution, do agree to enter into a more strict engagement, and establish the following as the laws and orders to be observed in this Society." There follow thirteen rules ; then come the names of the members (1735), headed by Daniel Updike, and including Samuel Johnson as an Occasional Member.

Two of the original members, Updike and Honeyman Jr., are known to have had a very close connection with Berkeley. Daniel Updike, whose name heads both lists, was probably the moving spirit in the Society ; he was the father of Lodowick, and grandfather of Wilkins Updike.¹ He was a practising lawyer who lived in Narragansett, but spent much of his time in Newport. He was a friend of Dr. McSparran, who is said to have baptized him in the river Petaquamscut. He was Attorney-General of the colony from 1722 to 1732 ; he died in 1757. Berkeley on leaving the country presented Updike with a piece of plate,² which is still preserved as an heirloom in the Updike family. James Honeyman Jr., whose name comes second in the second list, was son of the rector. He too was a lawyer, served on several public commissions, and succeeded Updike as Attorney-General. Collins was a wealthy merchant, who gave the site on which the Redwood Library was built. Townsend, the donor of a book to the library, is said to have been admitted to membership of the Society along with Berkeley. Searing was a Congregationalist pastor ; Condry was minister of the Baptist Church, Boston. A portrait of Berkeley, copied by Alfred Hart from the Smibert group, is possessed by the Redwood Library ; it was presented in 1858 by C. H. Olmsted.³

Berkeley's visits to the "adjacent parts of the Continent"⁴ are of special interest because about a thousand Indians were still to be found there, and there was no Indian community on the island itself. The evangelization of the Indians was part of the Bermuda project, and it was of importance to Berkeley to have a personal acquaintance with the conditions of Indian life—which indeed he claims to possess in his sermon preached before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel on his return. The mainland, due west of Newport, the district now known as Washington, was then known as the Narragansett country. It

¹ Author of *History of the Narragansett Church*, 1847. ² Wilkins Updike calls it a well-wrought, silver coffee-pot. Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, p. 66, calls it a well-wrought silver cup, and says that it is now owned by Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike of Boston. ³ The portrait, reproduced in G. C. Mason's *Annals of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum*, p. 190, appears to be after Latham's painting or the mezzotint of John Brooks. ⁴ Rand, *B&P*, p. 255.

lies some ten miles from Newport across the Narragansett Bay (the name Narragansett Pier still survives). Updike¹ records that Berkeley with Smibert and Colonel Updike repeatedly visited the Narragansett country with the express object of studying "the conditions and character" of the Indians, and that he stayed with the McSparrans there soon after his arrival in America. Berkeley tells Percival that he preached there, and we possess his sermons or sermon notes marked as preached there. These visits to the mainland were not without their influence on Berkeley's later life; for it was from the Indians that he first heard of the infusion of tar as a prophylactic against smallpox.²

The Rev. Dr. James McSparran, "the most able divine that was sent over to this country by the S.P.G.,"³ was born in Ireland, and he tells us that he could read, write, and preach in Irish. He arrived to take charge of the Narragansett mission in 1721, and he was minister of St. Paul's Church there for nearly thirty-seven years, dying in 1757. He figures largely in Updike's history, and his tract *America Dissected* is reprinted at the end of it. A picture of his Glebe House, where, no doubt, Berkeley stayed when he preached his Narragansett sermons, is contained in *Old Houses in the South County of Rhode Island* (pp. 9, 10). McSparran received the doctorate of divinity from Oxford University. Smibert painted portraits of the Doctor and his wife, which were in the possession of their descendants.

Within three weeks of his arrival Berkeley purchased a small estate in the neighbourhood of Middletown about three miles out of Newport. He calls it "a pleasant farm of about one hundred acres with two fine groves and a winding rivulet upon it."⁴ He resided in Newport for his first three months, and we may infer that in April or May 1729 he left the Honeymans' house and took possession of his new property. This was his New World home. Here was probably the only house he ever actually owned. He named it Whitehall. He lived there for nearly two and a half years, and when he left the country he conveyed the house and estate to Yale, in token of his wishes for American education and of his belief in the future of the country to which he had dedicated the best years of his active life. Whitehall is now America's chief visible and tangible link with him, and naturally it has become the focus of the affection and gratitude, widely felt. Presidents

¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 523. ² "Which foreign practice induced me to try it in my own neighbourhood," *Siris*, Sects. 1, 2. ³ Updike, *op. cit.*, p. 260. ⁴ Letter to Benson, published *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. li, c. 4.

of the United States and many other eminent men are included in the long and lengthening list of Berkeley Scholars who in their college days have drawn benefits from the Whitehall lands ; and the house itself for the past half century has been cared for with unremitting attention by the Society of Colonial Dames of Rhode Island as a memorial of Berkeley's visit and mission.

The following question is therefore of considerable interest. Did Berkeley build the house, or buy it? The question has, so far as I know, only recently been raised, and the full answer has not till now been given. Fraser says,¹ " Berkeley's farm was a tract of land of about ninety-six acres. He bought it from Captain John Anthony, a native of Wales, then a wealthy grazier in Rhode Island, whose daughter afterwards married Gilbert Stuart, father of the American artist. It adjoined a farm which belonged to the missionary Honeyman, from whom Honeyman's Hill in the neighbourhood takes its name. In this sequestered spot Berkeley planned and built a commodious house. He named his island home Whitehall, in loyal remembrance of the palace of the English Kings from Henry VIII to James II." Fraser's account has been accepted, and it has been generally assumed without question that Berkeley built Whitehall. It is now certain that for Fraser's *John Anthony* we must substitute *Joseph Whipple*, and that while it is true that Berkeley built Whitehall there is more about it that should be said.

For Berkeley *bought* a house on his estate as well as *built* one. I owe my knowledge of the double fact in the first instance to Mr. Norman M. Isham, who raised the question with me, and then to my own subsequent sifting of Berkeley's correspondence.

Fraser had instituted inquiries about the deed of purchase, but was told that the Newport records were lost or defective, no doubt because the search was made for a deed with John Anthony as grantor. Isham searched the records, looked for the Anthony deed, and failed to find it, but found the deed from Whipple of 18 February 1729 and the indenture to Yale of 26 July 1732 (see Appendix III). He wrote to me : " In checking up these deeds a house and stable is mentioned, I found, in that to Yale, which is as it should be—but the house and stable, to my surprise appeared also in the deed from Joseph Whipple. Of course this does not prove that the Dean did not tear down the house and build a new one . . . I shall go to Newport as soon as I can and examine the house. . . ." In a subsequent letter

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 164.

Mr. Isham told me that he had seen the house, and was fairly well satisfied from the look of the fabric that Berkeley built the present house, although there had been repairs done later, and that he would go again and make a more thorough examination. I did not hear from him further.

The purchase of a house and the building of a house are both supported by the correspondence. In a letter to Percival (*B&P*, p. 253), dated 30 August 1729, Berkeley speaks of "the purchase of my land and house," but six months later (9 March 1730) he writes to Prior, "I live here upon land that I have purchased, and in a farm-house that I have built in this island." Berkeley tells Percival (*B&P*, p. 254) that for the first three months he resided at Newport, and he was almost certainly in his own house by May. The estate was purchased on 18 February, and a new house could not possibly have been built and made ready for occupation by May. It is therefore probable that when Berkeley left the Honeyman's house, he moved into the house he bought from Whipple, and then built a new one or rebuilt the old.

Berkeley's purchase was very considerable and attracted much attention at home as an indication of his plans and intentions. He bought nearly 100 acres at about £10 an acre. Uncleared lands at a twentieth of that price were available on the mainland, but they would have been expensive to clear, and, not being near a seaport, would not have served his purpose. Similar objections lay against the Elizabeth Islands between Rhode Island and Martha's Vineyard, which were offered to him cheap by Mr. Winthrop, "a vast landed man."¹ He bought the land as a source of supply for his college in Bermuda, and if he had succeeded in effecting a transfer to Rhode Island, it would have been an ideal site for the college itself. Whitehall, the house he built and occupied, was probably designed to become the residence of the steward or manager of the home farm. It was described thirty years after his visit as "an indifferent wooden house,"² a description which certainly does less than justice to the appearance of Whitehall to-day. It is not a pretentious building; but it suits its purpose and background, and it is simply a plain, commodious, two-storey farm-house, with a comfortable, solid, and pleasing air.

Two children were born to the Berkeleys in Rhode Island, Henry and Lucia. Henry's birth is announced in Berkeley's letter

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 253-54; Allen and McClure, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, pp. 244-46.

² By the Rev. A. Burnaby, author of *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America*.

to Prior¹ of 12 June 1729. He was baptized by his father in Trinity Church on 1 September 1729. He was delicate in later life and little is known of him. Lucia was born shortly before they left for England; she died in infancy at Newport, and was buried in the churchyard of Trinity Church, where on the tombstone of Nathaniel Kay may still be read the supplementary inscription: "Joining to the south of this tomb lies Lucia Berkeley, daughter of Dean Berkeley, obit 5th Sept. 1731." There is silent pathos in the words; for Berkeley was a devoted father who could write of his eldest child, "Our little son is a great joy to us. We are such fools as to think him the most perfect thing we ever saw in its kind."²

Berkeley's stay in America was not distinguished by any public action; he did nothing worth a paragraph in a daily paper; there was nothing he could do, save write³; and unless one takes the long and philosophical and the Christian view, his stay in America was a tragic waste of time. I do not for one moment believe it to have been such; but to the matter-of-fact who want to know what he was doing all those months in Rhode Island, I must reply that he was doing the hardest thing, that he was doing nothing, doing nothing but wait, waiting in hope of the promised grant, waiting in hope deferred, waiting sick at heart, and lastly waiting for recall. It is a striking tribute to the greatness of the man, to the grandeur of the Christian philosophy, and, I must add, to the objective reality of the call that brought him there and kept him at his post, that he rose above all sense of personal defeat and discouragement, that he almost always looked on the bright side of things, that he had something to show for those weary months of waiting.

After a year or so in America he wrote to Percival: "We have passed the winter in a profound solitude on my farm in this island, all my companions having been allured five or six months ago to Boston, the great place of pleasure and resort in these parts, where they still continue. After my long fatigue of business this retirement is very agreeable to me; and my wife loves a country life and books so well as to pass her time contentedly and cheerfully without any other conversation than her husband and the dead."⁴

The "profound solitude" was, of course, only comparative.

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 163. ² Fraser, *ib.*, p. 185. For further particulars of the family see below, p. 182, and Appendix I. ³ see on *Alciphron* below, p. 131. ⁴ Rand, *B&P*, p. 262.

From time to time they must have had plenty of visitors, and they had always plenty of occupation. It would be a mistake to think of Berkeley as a hermit or recluse, chewing the cud of meditation. When he wrote that letter he was back in thought in London, and is contrasting the tranquillity of his island Whitehall with the tumult of the other Whitehall over the ocean; he is thinking of the hectic days he lived when making interest for his scheme. His widow long afterwards criticized Stock's *Life* on this very point; she says that Stock makes him out less active in America than he in fact was. She records that when not employed as itinerant preacher (which was not practicable in the winter) he preached every Sunday at Newport, that when the season and his health permitted, he visited the continent and penetrated far into its recesses, and that the English missionaries within a radius of 100 miles formed a sort of synod to meet twice a year at Whitehall for his advice and exhortation, four such meetings being held. The privacy¹ of his life in America on which he and others lay much stress was a matter of policy; he kept entirely out of politics in America, and while not hiding his colours, he took no controversial line, nor claimed standing as a dignitary of the established church. He was being watched on both sides of the Atlantic, and he knew it. Any marked public action would have been represented and misrepresented at home to the detriment of his project. His mission with all that affected it was "news" with a bearing on politics at home. Dr. Cutler seems to have wished him to come out strongly as an episcopalian. Gabriel Bernon, as we shall see, certainly tried to get him to interfere in local church affairs. Had he done either, he would have been manoeuvred into a false position, and would have found himself the local champion of church against dissent, a busybody in other men's matters, or an arbitrator without jurisdiction; and none of those rôles would sit well on the President of St. Paul's College.

The Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler, correspondent of Dr. Grey of Houghton Conquest, was a Harvard graduate who had been Rector of Yale, but had been relieved of his appointment there on becoming an episcopalian.² At this time he was Rector of Christ Church, Boston. He had been trying to secure a seat as an episcopalian on the governing body of Harvard, and in 1729 he finally failed. We can understand his feelings about Berkeley's

¹ e.g. "Dean Berkeley leads a private life at Rhode Island," Cutler to Grey.

² J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History*. . . vol. iv, p. 289, and *Lit. Anec.*, vol. ii, p. 546.

visit from his words written on 18 July 1729, "Dean Berkeley is at Rhode Island highly honoured by the whole Church, and dissenters of all denominations. He will pass the next winter there, and we promise ourselves he will use his interest to place his college in these parts, and this will be some compensation for the loss the Church has sustained as to Harvard College."

The Bernon incident showed clearly that the Dean had to mind his steps. Gabriel Bernon, a Huguenot refugee, was born at Rochelle on 6 April 1644; he settled in Providence in 1698, removed to the Narragansett country, but returned to Providence where he died in 1736 at the age of 92. His house was nearly opposite St. John's Church. He was a leading business man and a keen and influential supporter of the Church; he secured the appointment of a resident minister in 1723, the Rev. George Pigot, who left after two years. Then "parson Charro was appointed, but he behaved unworthily and was dismissed."¹ The Church at Providence was shaken by this incident or some other "triste événement,"² and Bernon under the impression that Berkeley had come armed with ecclesiastical authority, if not with jurisdiction, appealed to him to intervene. Berkeley refused to interfere, and referred Bernon to the Bishop of London and the Society for the propagation of the Gospel.

Nathaniel Kay, whose tombstone records Lucia's death, was a good friend of the Dean. He was a benefactor of the church at Newport, and the Kay Chapel, designed for the use of the Sunday school, was erected in 1869, in part with funds left by him. On the west wall of the chapel is the inscription: Sacred to the memory of Nathaniel Kay Esq. Collector of King's customs in Newport, R.I. during the early part of the eighteenth century.³

When he became a bishop, Berkeley tried to make provision for a clergyman, named Cox, whose sisters he remembered seeing in Rhode Island, and thought "sensible women."⁴

In spite of his widow's statement, quoted above (p. 126), that he penetrated far into the recesses of the continent, I doubt if he really travelled far afield. If he had done so, I think we should have known it from other sources; and it would have been impolitic of him to do so, at any rate as long as there was a chance of the grant being paid. But if he did not visit other people, at

¹ Updike, *op. cit.*, p. 409. ² see Berkeley's two letters (in French) to Bernon, which are preserved in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Published by me, *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii. ³ Further particulars about him are given by Updike, *op. cit.* ⁴ Fraser, *LL*, p. 219.

any rate other people visited him. Johnson of Newhaven came and stayed at Whitehall more than once ; other clergymen from a distance came, too. James, Dalton, and Smibert, and " many of the principal inhabitants " (Rand, *B&P*, p. 255) came over from Boston. There were visits with Colonel Updike to the McSparrans across the bay. There were frequent preachings ; there were meetings of the Newport Philosophical Society ; there was correspondence with Johnson on philosophy, with Prior on business and Irish politics, with Percival on London affairs, and with Benson, Clayton, and the rest of his associates on Bermuda. Then he had farming to think of ; he calls himself a farmer ; he had a sizable estate to manage or to set. He had a library of books to read, a big book to write, authorities to consult. Therefore it is clear that Berkeley's relative retirement at Rhode Island was only a temporary withdrawal from the stage of active public life, which gave him time for reflection and domesticity and development in depth, but was not unsocial or unproductive ; and it contained no element of indolence or morbid reflection on what might have been.

The most important of his American friendships was that with Samuel Johnson. Through this channel Berkeley's influence came to bear directly upon the life of Yale and Columbia University, and so upon the course of American higher education and philosophy. The friendship was lifelong and close, and was continued far into the next generation in the persons of their sons.¹

Samuel Johnson, son of a deacon in the Congregationalist Church, was born at Guildford, Conn., in 1696. He received at Saybrook the best available education, chiefly based on the scholastic authors. At the age of twenty he became a tutor at Yale, the new seminary at Newhaven. At first a Congregationalist minister, he with Cutler and Brown, and later Wetmore, studied the religious issue, decided to join the Anglican Church, and sought and obtained episcopal orders in England (1722-23). Johnson was appointed minister at Stratford, Conn., and took charge there in 1724.² In 1743 Oxford conferred on him the

¹ The son, W. S. Johnson, scholar and politician, who took a prominent part in the American revolution, met Mrs. Anne Berkeley in England, and wrote to his father in very appreciative terms of her and her reception of him (see above, p. 111). He formed quite a close friendship with George Berkeley Jr., who in later life was keenly interested in America, and helped materially to send the episcopate there through his influence with the Scottish bishops who consecrated Bishop Seabury. The standard work on Samuel Johnson's life is that by H. and C. Schneider, New York, 1929, *q.v.* for the facts in this section. ² Wild, *George Berkeley*, p. 311, records that he went to England in 1728, returning in 1729.

degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1754 he was elected President of King's College (which became Columbia University). After nine years there he resigned, and resumed his cure at Stratford, where he died on 6 January 1772. His publications include *Elementa Philosophica* (1752), which is dedicated to Berkeley. Jonathan Edwards was among his pupils, and he was beyond a doubt one of the pioneers and architects of American education.

Johnson's reading list shows that he was interested in Berkeley's philosophy even before the Dean's arrival in America.¹ The two men had in common, not alone a love of philosophy, but a love of the Anglican Church; a lasting friendship sprang up between them. Johnson had the warmest appreciation of Berkeley's qualities of head and heart, and he writes of—a striking phrase—"that candor and tenderness which are so conspicuous both in your writings and conversation." Berkeley's arrival in America marked an epoch in Johnson's life, as is revealed by the feeling entry in his autobiography, quaintly written in the third person: "In the year 1729 in February² came that very extraordinary genius Bishop Berkeley, then Dean of Derry, into America, and resided two years and a half at Rhode Island . . . he wrote many letters which were kindly answered and made him several visits. . . . This was of vast use to Mr. Johnson and cleared up many difficulties in his mind."

The two friends corresponded till the last year or so of Berkeley's life; but the four long letters that passed between them in America, two from Johnson with Berkeley's two replies, form an important contribution to philosophy, and of them some account must here be given. As a philosopher Johnson was not of Berkeley's calibre, but none the less he was a competent critic, and in these two letters he has put together a sustained examination of Berkeley's immaterialism (the first connected criticism we have), which drew from Berkeley some important replies. Johnson was evidently acting as the mouthpiece or leader of a study group at or near Newhaven; for his friends Wetmore and Elliott joined in the discussion, and Berkeley sent to them all copies of his four books, the *Essay on Vision*, the *Principles*, the *Three Dialogues*, and the *De Motu*.

Johnson's two letters are dated respectively, 10 September 1729 and 5 February 1730; Berkeley replied on 25 November and 24 March. The two Johnson letters were first published in

¹ He had read the *Principles* in 1727-28, and again in 1729, along with the *Essay on Vision* and the *Three Dialogues*. ² January, to be exact.—Ed.

1929 by Messrs. H. and C. Schneider, *Samuel Johnson, His career and writings*, vol. ii, pp. 263-84, and they have been reprinted by T. E. Jessop in his edition of the *Principles*. The two Berkeley letters were first published (in part) in Fraser's 1871 edition of the *Works*, and (in full) in his 1901 edition. The greater part of the second Berkeley letter, presumably in copy, is in the Berkeley Papers (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 39311, pp. 17-20), where I identified it. Johnson numbers his points, and Berkeley replies to them by their numbers for the most part. This makes the argument in its general lines easy to follow. A postscript seems to have been lost from Berkeley's first letter. The four letters should be read together in the order of writing.¹

This is not the place for a philosophical discussion of the detail. But I will summarize the more important of Berkeley's positive statements, and will mention the broader biographical interest of the correspondence. In answer to questions asked or points raised by Johnson, Berkeley states explicitly that he believes in sensible bodies, does not question their existence, but, on the contrary, establishes it on evident principles; about archetypes in the divine mind he refuses to dogmatize, but he entirely rejects material archetypes; he defines his attitude to the Newtonian physics, and says some important things about space, time, and the nature of spirits.

The correspondence further supplies a much-needed corrective to unfair statements about the "development of Berkeley's philosophy," which have been prevalent in our day. Development in the sense of the maturing of the mind, the widening of the horizon, and extension of intellectual interests is one thing. Development in the sense of withdrawal and retraction is quite another thing. When development in the latter sense is attributed to Berkeley, it is a euphemistic but unfair way of making out that he changed his views in later life about his early philosophy. The crux is, of course, his denial of material substance, and here to assert that he "developed" is a very serious charge, intellectually and morally, because it is tantamount to saying that he came round to see that he had been wrong on a vital particular with far-reaching implications, but never had the pluck or the honesty to admit his mistake openly. It is a way of shouldering him out from the history of philosophy; and critics who take that line are in effect saying to young students of philosophy, "I can't

¹ see my "The Philosophical correspondence between Berkeley and Johnson," *Hermathena*, vol. lvi, pp. 99ff.

answer Berkeley's arguments myself ; but don't bother about him ; he has answered himself ; he retracted, recanted, and withdrew."

In fact he did nothing of the sort. His correspondence with Johnson gives conclusive evidence that in middle life, at the height of his powers, with horizon broadened by travel and new contacts, Berkeley remained absolutely convinced of the truth of his early philosophy, and had not moved one hair's breadth from it. Here we see him propagating it in the New World, sending copies of his books to Johnson¹ and his friends, inviting their criticism, correcting their errors, and drawing corollaries from his teaching. What is more, he here categorically and in terms asserts that he believes his early philosophy to be true, and his clear, emphatic and unqualified assertion is underlined by (a) a modest admission of defects in expression, and by (b) the fact that he was at the time of writing to Johnson, also writing or preparing to write his *Alciphron*, which bases his ultimate defence of Christian essentials on his early philosophy.

The two philosophers continued to correspond, but not, it would seem, on philosophy. They exchanged farewells on the eve of Berkeley's departure, and Berkeley wrote that he hoped to be of service to Yale, "the more so as you were once a member of it, and have still an influence there," and he left a box of books with Mr. Kay to be distributed among the youths at Newhaven. His next letter to Johnson reports the dispatch of eight cases of books for Yale Library, and for the next five years there is a series of letters showing that Yale was often in Berkeley's thoughts and that Johnson kept him in touch with events there. After a gap of ten years in the extant correspondence there comes Berkeley's fine letter of 1749 preserved in Columbia University Library, no doubt owing its place there to Johnson's care. In it, after referring to the progress of learning at Yale and the successes of Johnson's sons there, he gives useful advice, general and detailed, on the government and regulation of the college to be established in New York, of which, under its original name, King's College, Johnson became the first president, and which later became Columbia University.

An account of *Alciphron* or the *Minute Philosopher* will make a fitting conclusion to this chapter ; for it was written in America,

¹ One of these may be seen in the library of Harvard, a *Theory of Vision*, and edition, inscribed, "Samuelis Johnsoni Liber ex dono autoris admodum Reverendi Derensis Decani, An. Dom. 1729."

abounds in special interest for America, was his main, if not his only, positive achievement during his stay there, and would probably never have been written, but for his visit to America and his consequent "liberty and leisure in this distant retreat, far beyond the verge of that great whirlpool of business, faction, and pleasure which is called the world."¹

The *Alciphron* is a philosophical work in seven dialogues ; it is essentially a philosophical defence of Christianity in general and of Anglican Christianity in particular. It is one of the most comprehensive works on Christian faith and order ever written by an Anglican divine, and it ranks with Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Incidentally, it lends support to the Berkeleian philosophy ; immaterialism is assumed in its pages rather than defended ; but Berkeley definitely links it to his religion in dialogues iv and vii, and by appending the Essay on Vision. Hedonism comes up for examination with other moral and metaphysical questions, but the dominant interest of the work is religious. Though it is unmistakably Anglican in outlook and teaching, it is not directed against dissent, but against that non-institutional religion or irreligion, which in the eighteenth century was called "free-thinking," and "rationalism" in later days. As pointed out above (p. 62), Berkeley's attention had been called to this movement in 1713 on the occasion of his first visit to London. Steele's influential, though brief, periodical, the *Guardian*, attacked free-thinking as part of its policy, and the attack was entrusted to Berkeley. The twelve essays that he contributed all deal with it, and some of them are devoted to it. The connection between those essays and parts of *Alciphron* is close ; his copy of the *Guardian* must have been at hand, I think, and in use when Berkeley penned the *Alciphron*.

The anti-Christian tendencies of the day are embodied in two of the *dramatis personae*, Alciphron and Lysicles. Alciphron, the *esprit fort*, argues consistently and accepts proof. Lysicles, the man of pleasure, is a butterfly flitting easily from one position to another, arguing, mocking, reasoning, laughing at reason, as the mood takes him. Alciphron is more concerned with metaphysics, Lysicles with ethics. The orthodox teaching is placed in the mouth of Euphranor, with occasional modifications and expansions from Crito and rare summaries by Dion. The spirit and form of the Platonic dialogues are followed ; amenities of debate are observed, and extreme statements are, for the most

¹ *Alciphron* I 1.

part, avoided. First-hand knowledge of the common talk of free-thinking clubs is claimed; persons and books are criticized. Mandeville and Shaftesbury are severely handled, and sharp strictures are passed upon Bishop Browne's doctrine of divine analogy.

Local tradition connecting the dialogues with Rhode Island is strong and of long standing. They say he would walk over from Whitehall to Sachuest Beach and compose in the shelter of the Hanging Rocks. Dr. Coits claimed to possess the arm-chair in which Berkeley would sit when composing at home. The work was published in London only a few weeks after his arrival there, and it must therefore have been virtually ready for the press when he landed. Local colour abounds in its pages. Rhode Island places, and perhaps persons, can be identified there. The first dialogue opens with a clear reference to his mission, its failure, and the use he has made of his enforced idleness. Johnson is said¹ to have told his editor that some of Berkeley's rural descriptions "were copied from the charming landscapes in that delightful island." Much of the topographical setting of the dialogues, though ostensibly English,² has been in fact borrowed from Rhode Island. The walk to Crito's "lay through half a dozen pleasant fields, planted round with plane trees, that are very common in this part of the country" (Dial. i. 1) Crito's house, "which stands in the middle of a small park, beautified with two fine groves of oak and walnut, and a winding stream of sweet and clear water," has a "library which is a gallery on the ground floor, with an arched door at one end, opening into a walk of limes." (Dial. v. 1). Several such houses, e.g. the Casey house (c. 1725) and McSparran's Glebe house (c. 1690) stood in Rhode Island when Berkeley was there, and photographs of them may be seen in *Old Houses in the South County of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1932). The arch, round and pointed, was a feature of door and cupboard. John Potter (*ib.*, p. 42), "a squire of the eighteenth century, fond of fox-hunting, the pleasures of the table and good wine," as skilful in "fishing for votes of Rhode Island freemen as for striped bass" reminds one of Berkeley's "half a dozen sunburnt squires in frocks and short wigs and jockey-boots" at the fox-hunt (Dial. v. 1), who "passed the afternoon in a loud rustic mirth, gave proof of their religion and loyalty by the healths they drank, talked of hounds and horses, and elections, and country fairs."

The town of Newport and Narragansett Bay as seen from

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 167.
(008)

² e.g. "to set out for London," *Dial.* vii, 1.
10

Honeyman's Hill are depicted at the opening of dialogue V : "Here we had a prospect on one hand of a narrow bay or creek of the sea, enclosed on either side by a coast, beautified with rocks and woods and green banks and farm-houses. At the end of the bay was a small town, placed upon the slope of a hill, which, from the advantage of its situation, made a considerable figure. Several fishing-boats and lighters, gliding up and down, on a surface as smooth and bright as glass, enlivened the prospect."

Sachuest Beach is the setting of the second dialogue : "After breakfast we went down to a beach about half a mile off ; where we walked on the smooth sand, with the ocean on one hand, and on the other, wild, broken rocks, intermixed with shady trees and springs of water. . . . We then withdrew into a hollow glade between two rocks." The rocks, called "the Hanging (i.e. Overhanging) Rocks," are a natural feature of the strand, not easily forgotten, notable for their rugged shape, their isolation, and, like the *Alciiphron* itself, for their prospect of the illimitable ocean.

That the *dramatis personae* owe not a little to the country may be granted, but no assignment of parts is fully satisfactory. Rand ¹ has suggested that Euphranor may be Berkeley and Crito Johnson. And it is true that Euphranor as a rule voices Berkeley's opinions, and, like Berkeley, has been to a university, has a library of books and 100 acres of land, and is both a philosopher and a farmer, who "hath read much and thought more" ; but Euphranor has no monopoly of Berkeley's opinions ; he has never seen a first-class painting, and in his comparative rusticity he differs widely from the polished and travelled Dean. Berkeley, if he is represented by any character in the dialogue, is represented by Dion, the shadowy figure in the background, who occasionally interposes to guide the course of the debate ; and so his contemporaries read it.²

"My host, Euphranor," if studied from life, is more likely to be Honeyman, who had been Berkeley's host, who had a farm adjoining Berkeley's, and who was rector of the church in the neighbouring town.³

The identification of Crito with Johnson is not plausible. Johnson was a clergyman ; Crito, as far as I can find, was not.⁴ Most of the defence of the clergy is placed in Crito's mouth, but

¹ *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, p. 71. ² cf. Mandeville's *Letter to Dion*. ³ cf. *Dial.* vi 1, "the rest of us went to church in the neighbouring town where we dined at Euphranor's." ⁴ Wild (*George Berkeley*, p. 331) calls Crito a clergyman ; perhaps he has read too much into the words (*Dial.* i. 1), "whose parish-church is in our town."

I do not think he ever speaks as a clergyman. He is described as "a neighbouring gentleman of distinguished merit and estate" (Dial. i. 1). Johnson had no standing or independent position, like Crito; he was not particularly or broadly cultured at that time, and if we may judge from his letters he was over-modest and deferential. Crito goes to church with the rest, and if he is any one of Berkeley's American friends, he is more probably a distinguished layman, keenly interested in religion, like Colonel Updike or Nathaniel Kay. But, of course, Berkeley's fine feelings would prevent him from putting any of his friends into his books too obviously.

CHAPTER IX

THE FAILURE

WE must turn back now to the project that brought Berkeley to the New World ; we must watch the gradual eclipse of his hopes, his acceptance of defeat, and his return home.

The King had granted Berkeley a charter for the erection of St. Paul's College in Bermuda ; the House of Commons had passed a resolution in favour of making provision for the scheme. A consultation with the Treasury had been held, and some sort of " gentleman's agreement " had been reached, by which Berkeley was to receive, either personally or by his delegate, the sum of £20,000 for the purposes of the college from the moneys to be realized by the sale of public lands in St. Christopher, which sum *plus* the five or six thousand pounds received by private subscription was regarded as adequate. On the strength of this agreement Berkeley sailed for Rhode Island, partly to convince grumbling subscribers of his *bona fides*,¹ and partly to see the country for himself and buy land there as a supply farm for his college, or as a site for it, if he could secure permission to build it there. The charter was left in the keeping of Dr. Clayton, his colleague in Trinity College, Dublin, who was his lieutenant in the scheme, and would, no doubt have been on the staff of the college.²

On paper the arrangement with the Treasury looked simple and satisfactory, but it really left all the parties in a difficulty and in something of a vicious circle. The Treasury could not pay till they had the money and the final sanction of the Prime Minister. He could not give his sanction till he was satisfied the scheme was workable ; he was doubtful at first ; some of his Cabinet were opposed, and eventually swung him into opposition. Without the money and the co-operation of his associates, Berkeley could not show that it was workable. The future members of the staff of the college could not be expected to throw up their positions

¹ " Some things being awkward represented," Newman to Berkeley 25 October 1728, see *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, xlii, c. 6, p. 109. ² see Rand, *B&P*, p. 267 : " Since we are not likely to see him in this part of the world "

at home until they were assured that the college would be built and that positions would be ready for them abroad ; and Berkeley in the inevitable delay found it hard to keep his team together.

The situation was further complicated by other parties in the background—the subscribers, the opponents, and the promoters of other welfare schemes. Some of the subscribers had given large sums ; they had waited three or four years, and had seen nothing done, and were impatient for results. Sir Robert Walpole was a subscriber to the extent of £200 ; he could scarcely be ranked as an opponent,¹ at any rate at first ; but his settled policy was to let sleeping dogs lie, and he was the last man to take a strong line against short-sighted politicians like the Duke of Dorset, Lord Wilmington, and Lord Townsend, who were actively opposed on the ground that the “dependencies” must be kept dependent. Enlightened opposition came from men like William Byrd of Virginia, who with local knowledge opposed the project, not as undesirable, but as impracticable.² Byrd saw the Dean as “a Don Quixote in zeal,” and his pious design as a “visionary scheme.” There is no bread in Bermuda ; there is nothing fit for the sustenance of man but onions and cabbages ; its inhabitants are healthy, because, forsooth, they have so little to eat ; the air is pure, because swept by storms and hurricanes. Such criticisms look captious ; but Byrd is on sure ground when he examines the proposal to educate Indians at the college. There are no Indians in Bermuda, “nor within two hundred leagues of it upon the continent, and it will need the gift of miracles to persuade them to leave their country and venture themselves upon the great ocean, on the temptation of being converted.” The Dean must take the French way and dragoon them into Christianity.³ He must take half a dozen regiments, and “make a descent upon the coast of Florida, and take as many prisoners as he can.” Behind the sarcasm, not altogether unfriendly, is the assurance of the man with local knowledge.

Byrd is silent, unfortunately, about the other part of the scheme, the education of the sons of planters. One wonders what his opinion was. Could white students have been induced to come in any numbers to Bermuda ? No doubt some of the more

¹ But see his adverse opinion of Berkeley, quoted by J. Wild, *George Berkeley*, p. 371, from the Stopford-Sackville MSS., p. 3, 1884. ² see Rand, *B&P*, pp. 243-47.

³ The text, “Compel them to come in,” was taken literally in those days, and Byrd’s suggestion would not sound so extravagant then ; in fact, “by taking captive the children of our enemies” is specified in Berkeley’s *Proposal* as a possible method of obtaining Indian students.

loyal anglicans would have come ; for two or three every year crossed the whole Atlantic to be ordained. But the American towns had their schoolmasters, like Edward Scott at Newport, and college education was to be had at Harvard, Yale, Saybrook, and Williamsburg, and the counter-attractions of St. Paul's, Bermuda, across 600 miles of ocean were problematical. If then neither Indians nor whites were available to any large extent, the classrooms would have been all but empty, and the college virtually a white elephant.

The other charitable projects of the day were not intrinsically rivals to Berkeley's scheme, and I have found no evidence in his correspondence that he regarded them as such. But, on the other hand, there are the facts that the Georgia scheme received £10,000 of the St. Christopher money on a warrant dated 30 July 1733, and that Stock explicitly states that it interfered with Berkeley's scheme. Here is the statement : " The project indeed of the trustees for establishing this colony appears to have been equally humane and disinterested ; but it is much to be lamented that it should interfere with another of more extensive and lasting utility which, if it had taken effect by the education of the youth of New England and other colonies, we may venture with great appearance of reason to affirm, would have planted such principles of religion and loyalty among them, as might have gone a good way towards preventing the present unhappy troubles [c. 1780—Ed.] in that part of the world."

It is true that the money, £10,000, was made over to the Georgia scheme only when Berkeley was back in England, and his project confessedly abandoned. Indeed Oglethorpe wrote very fully and tactfully to Berkeley,¹ soliciting his support, and Rand has found in the Journals of the House of Commons evidence that Berkeley helped him to get the required sanction from Parliament. Berkeley was magnanimity itself ; he evidently approved the Georgia scheme, and thought it for the good of America, and he would be the last man to withhold his support because of personal pique at his own failure in an undertaking that people might think similar. In point of fact the two schemes had little in common ; but they were thought of together, and appealed to the same charitable public. Benson actually suggested a compromise by which the two should share the public money, and the college be built in Carolina. Percival was one of the moving spirits in the Georgia scheme, and is said to have received his

¹ Rand, *B&P*, pp. 270, 275.

earldom for his part in it. But he was also heart and soul with Berkeley, and shared his confidence, and advised on delicate and intimate details. He never would have sacrificed Bermuda to Georgia, Berkeley to Oglethorpe.

Oglethorpe was chairman of a parliamentary committee on gaols and Percival was a member.¹ They removed crying abuses in the Fleet and Marshalsea prisons, and lightened the lot of the insolvent debtor. But it is an imperfect charity which rescues insolvents from debtors' prisons and throws them friendless on the world ; and very naturally these humanitarians let their thoughts go overseas. The Georgia-Carolina scheme proposed to settle debtors and their families with proper equipment on lands between the River Altamaha in Georgia and the Savannah River on the Carolina border. A colonial settlement scheme for distressed families and a scheme for the higher education of the country itself have very little in common, and Berkeley really told Percival so, when the latter put in for the reversion of the Bermuda subscriptions.²

How then are we to understand Stock's statement that the Georgia scheme in effect diverted the grant from the Bermuda scheme? I suggest that we must accept what Stock says, but ought not to read into it any more than he says. The schemes were not rivals ; the promoters of the Georgia scheme had no intention of cutting across Berkeley's scheme, nor did they do so directly ; but one indirect effect of their scheme was to facilitate the sabotage of Berkeley's scheme. The Georgia scheme grew naturally and inevitably out of the work of the committee on gaols. It took undesirables away and it settled unoccupied districts across the seas. It helped to solve domestic problems and colonial problems. It promised quick returns, and to politicians of Walpole's calibre it was far more attractive than a long-term investment like Berkeley's project. The King's wishes are not known, but he is not likely to have been averse to a change of plan which added £10,000 to his daughter's dowry ; and those public men who like the Speaker of the House thought the honour of England was pledged to Berkeley, could salve their consciences with the thought of Georgia ; if taxed with a breach of pledge, they could reply that some of the money at any rate went to finance a welfare scheme for the same colonies.³

The gradual blighting of Berkeley's hopes can be traced in his correspondence with Percival, in which should be noted Berkeley's

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 270, 276. ² *ib.*, pp. 283-84 ; see below, p. 145. ³ *ib.*, p. 270.

dignity and poise, and Percival's unfailing kindness, courtesy, and good sense. Throughout the long period of suspense Berkeley rarely, if ever, falls below himself : he is the man under authority ; he has a mission ; he is under orders and cannot please himself. The will of God has spoken to him through King and Parliament, and he must stay at his post, hoping against hope, until the recall is unmistakably sounded.

Within a fortnight of his arrival in Rhode Island he writes to Percival that he would " not demur one moment about situating our college here," if he could secure the consent of the Government, but that he will not apply for that consent until the grant has been paid to Dr. Clayton. Percival replies on 25 April 1729 : " I should hope the government will not scruple the change of place, when you shall represent your reasons in the strong light you are so capable of doing." In June Percival tells Berkeley that his purchase of land is generally known, and that those few with whom he had spoken, thought Rhode Island a better site than Bermuda. In the same month Berkeley sounds the first note of alarm : it is rumoured in Ireland that he has given up Bermuda and intends to settle in Rhode Island ; he wishes the rumour contradicted, for it may disgust his associates and give a handle to the Treasury for withholding his grant. He is willing to proceed with the original scheme as soon as the money is paid and his colleagues have arrived. About the same time he tells Newman that he has instructed some friends to apply for a transfer to Rhode Island, as soon as the grant is paid, but not before. In August Berkeley writes that he can understand that public affairs may delay the payment, " but I cannot, I will not, understand that they can form any resolve to withhold a grant conveyed in such legal and authentic manner by His Majesty's patent under the broad seal." In September 1729 Percival writes him a full account of the position at home. Everyone knows he has purchased land and prefers Rhode Island to Bermuda, and everyone thinks Bermuda unsuitable. The St. Christopher lands have been sold, but the money has not yet been received. Dr. Clayton is in great favour at Court, and is mentioned for a bishopric. In March 1730 Berkeley writes in perplexity : the landmarks are going ; he does not know what to depend on, or what course to take. He cannot believe that the Court would put a " bite upon poor clergymen who depended upon charters, grants, votes, and the like encouragements." But he sees nothing done towards the payment. Should he come home and solicit in person ? No ;

for if the Treasury will not listen to the King's command, they will not listen to him. He has hinted to Dr. Clayton that he should go to the Treasury with the letters patent in his hand, and make a formal demand, "that we may obtain at least a public and direct answer from the proper persons."

The Treasury had no power in the matter.¹ The Court was evidently becoming lukewarm; Dr. Clayton, who "is by means of Mrs Clayton in great favour at Court,"² secured his own advancement, but seems to have neglected Berkeley's affairs. The final word was with Walpole, and he had either made up his mind that the scheme was unworkable, or, like Lord Townsend, he "had some politic reason against advancing learning in America." Compromise was attempted; Berkeley should have the interest of the money, but not the principal; his scheme should be combined with the Georgia scheme, and the grant pooled; but these half-measures were useless, and by July 1730 Philip Percival had it from Hutchinson, who had it from Walpole, that the grant would not be paid.³

The affair was widely discussed. The Speaker told Percival that he himself did not approve of the scheme, but thought that the honour of Parliament was engaged. The Earl of Pembroke and Sir Joseph Jekyll, the Master of the Rolls, were sympathetic. Its enemies used a variety of arguments against it, appealing to prejudice, ignorance, and selfishness: the Dean's wife wore homespun, and injured trade; the Dean was acting with the New Englanders against their governor.⁴ "A very good Lord asked me whether I thought the Indians would not be saved as well as we? And if I considered that learning tended to make the plantations independent of their mother country? Adding that the ignorance of the Indians and the variety of sects in our plantations was England's security. He was even sorry that we had an university in Dublin."⁵

On hearing that Dr. Clayton had been made Bishop of Killala Berkeley sent a letter in July 1730 to Archdeacon Benson, putting him in charge of the affairs of the college, its patent, seal, and other papers, in place of Clayton. But there was little or nothing to be done, the matter was virtually decided, and Berkeley was only hoping against hope. He admitted his disappointments, and

¹ "If ordered they must pay it, and if not, they will give that for a reason," Rand, *B&P*, p. 265. ² *ib.*, p. 259; Charlotte Dyve married William Clayton, afterwards Baron Sundon, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* ³ *ib.*, pp. 265-74. ⁴ Fraser, *LL*, p. 170. ⁵ Rand, *B&P*, p. 269.

that his health and spirits had been affected, summing up the position in memorable words : " If the founding of a college for the spreading of religion and learning in America had been a foolish project, it cannot be supposed the Court, the Ministers, and the Parliament would have given such public encouragement to it ; and if after all that encouragement they who engaged to endow and protect it let it drop, the disappointment indeed may be to me, but the censure, I think, will light elsewhere." ¹ Percival sent a very sympathetic reply. The design, he says, is " too good and great " for the age ; man proposes, but God disposes ; there are no grounds for expecting success at the moment, " but who knows what sparks of fire may yet remain among the ashes ? " About this time the matter came to a head. Gibson, the Bishop of London, approached Sir Robert Walpole about it, and received the explicit reply, " If you put this question to me as a Minister, I must and can assure you that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience ; but if you ask me as a friend whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of £20,000, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations." ²

Johnson's Autobiography records a less polished form of the answer : " He therefore wrote to his friends to do their utmost to get the patent altered for some place (which probably would have been New York) on the Continent. . . . Sir Robert told them any such attempt would be taken for a forfeiture, and indeed they had other uses for their money, said he, than building colleges in America." ³

Thus the blow fell. For family reasons Berkeley could not return at once, but on 2 March 1731 Berkeley writes to Percival, " I have received such accounts on all hands, both from England and Ireland, that I now give up all hopes of executing the design which brought me into these parts. I am fairly given to understand that the money will never be paid. And this long-continued delay and discountenance hath (as I am informed by several letters) made those persons who engaged with me entirely give up all thoughts of the college and turn themselves to other views. So that I am absolutely abandoned by every one of them." He consoles himself with the reflections that events are not in our power, and that man cannot foresee the result, and he will return to Europe and try " to be useful some other way."

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 268. ² Stock's *Life*. ³ Schneider and Schneider, *Samuel Johnson*, vol. i, p. 25.

On the Bermuda project as such, as propounded in the *Proposal* and sanctioned in the charter, there cannot now (I say it with regret) be two opinions. It was impracticable, and St. Paul's College, Bermuda, could never have fulfilled its promoters' purpose. The Prime Minister was therefore doing his duty and acting in the public interest when he deferred a decision until the need to withhold the grant was generally admitted. But did he do his whole duty in the matter? He let sleeping dogs lie, but was he really acting in the public interest when he allowed the American colonies to continue in their religious and cultural isolation? Surely he was not bound by the letter of the charter? Had there been the will, there was the way. Other charters have been interpreted on the principle of *ci-près*. Berkeley ought to have been allowed to mend his hand, and build his college for the same purposes, but in a different place. A St. Paul's College, Newport, or, better still, a St. Paul's College, New York, had every chance of being a great success. England's honour and her interest were involved. King and people by vote of Parliament were morally pledged and committed to a long-term policy and a far-sighted measure for the religious and cultural development of the New World, and Walpole did not see it, and he missed "the tide in the affairs of men." Blind to the course of honour, he was blind to his country's true interest in the matter, and his mistake, so some men in those days thought,¹ brought nemesis in its train.

And Berkeley also made mistakes, for which he paid. Like other great missionaries he made mistakes. He should have looked more closely before he leaped; he should have crossed the Atlantic on a trial trip before he published his *Proposal*. His geography was seriously at fault; he was misinformed about Bermuda, misled, perhaps, by the romance of the name, and his knowledge of the mainland of America, of the conditions of life there, and of the distribution of the Indian population was not as full as it should have been. He should have considered carefully New York and Rhode Island, as alternative sites for the college, before he printed a line about Bermuda. And was he fair to Derry, and his sacred office there? He was a man, and like Paul and Patrick before him, he made mistakes.

His project failed. St. Paul's College was not built; its president and fellows never took office. But that is not to say that his *mission* failed. Go to Rhode Island to-day, and see the

¹ see Stock's *Life* and Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. ccccxlix.

road signs pointing to his house ; hear what cultured people on the spot say of him, observe how they think of him, read what they write of him ; measure what actually has resulted from his visit ; and you could not say that his *mission* failed, that his ten years' endeavour went for naught, that his three years' sojourn in Rhode Island was wasted time, that his star in the west was a will-o'-the-wisp. Man proposed ; God disposed. The project was man's, and it failed and had to fail ; for though the end was noble, the means proposed were faulty. The mission was a different thing. Berkeley's mission was to America, not to Bermuda. God sent him to be a sower of seed, not the president of a college. He was sent to inspire and point the way ; he was sent to build in dedicated hearts and lives, and not in bricks and mortar. He was sent to plant and promote religion and learning in soil of destiny. He fulfilled that mission, and it succeeded. A divinity took the rough-hewn plans and shaped them.

In the opening of his *Alciphron* Berkeley has a few revealing remarks on the " miscarriage " of his affair, and the compensations and consolations he has found therein ; he is silent about it in his extant letters ; but his actions and attitude on his return are not those of a beaten man. Even in his lifetime American education was already the better of his visit ; he saw the existing colleges improved, and new institutions founded, and he himself was consulted about their founding and direction. His widow must have been echoing her husband's thoughts when years afterwards she wrote to their son : " His scheme for our colonies and the world in general is not forgot before His eyes for whom it was undertaken." ¹

More than two hundred years have gone by since Berkeley was in America, but he has never been forgotten there ; and still to-day cultured America is grateful for his mission, and seats of learning there are proud to be connected with it. A very notable tribute to the mission and the missionary has come within recent years from Professor Rand of Harvard, and I venture to quote his level words which are an admirable summary of the facts, and fully justify our paradoxical contention that the mission succeeded though the project failed. Rand writes : " The inspiration and influence of Berkeley's visit and efforts have been of enduring value in the life and thought of America. Better possibly than the founding of a single college has been the intellectual stimulus felt on this continent, at first from his personal

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 358.

aid and counsel during his sojourn here, then more widely from his devotion to the cause of its higher education, and in all subsequent years more especially by the abiding impetus and supremacy of his idealistic philosophy. Both letters and art early profited from his sojourn. . . . After his return to England he gave as we have seen, collections of books both to Harvard and Yale, and to the College at Newhaven a deed, also, of Whitehall, his residence at Newport. King's College, now Columbia University, was founded largely on the model which he advised in a letter to his friend, Samuel Johnson, its first President. The College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, also followed his wise counsels in its early organization. The Berkeley Divinity School, formerly at Middletown, Connecticut, and now located at Newhaven, bears his name and keeps him in loyal remembrance. The state of California erected its university in a city to which was given the name of Berkeley."¹

This widespread sentiment, based on solid fact, was happily illustrated a few years ago. The president of Trinity College, Hartford (Conn.), visited Trinity College, Dublin, requested and received a stone from Berkeley's College in the Old World. He took it back with him and built it into the walls of his college, as a symbol of a treasured connection.

An account must now be given of Berkeley's benefactions to America which were part of the winding-up of the project. The broad facts have long been known, but thanks to Rand's researches and letters found by me, fuller detail can now be supplied.

About £6,000 had been paid or promised, and Berkeley had lodged the money paid in a separate account with Messrs. Hoare, the bankers. Stock says that on his return all was immediately given back to the subscribers; but that statement is inexact. Berkeley at once asked them what their wishes were, and some received their money back. Some begged him to keep their money and reimburse himself for his heavy personal outlay. He refused to do so, but advised them instead to let their subscriptions go to the support of Yale, "which breeds the best clergymen and most learned of any college in America." Percival (*B&P*, pp. 283-84) had solicited for a transfer of subscriptions to the Georgia scheme, but Berkeley could not comply; the support of Yale came nearest his own plan, he said, and he had already recommended it to his subscribers.

From the fund so provided, and partly at his own expense,

¹ Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, pp. 67-70.

Berkeley made his benefactions. He gave his farm and house and a large collection of books to Yale, a smaller gift of books to Harvard, and an organ to Trinity Church, Newport; there were also some minor gifts, public and private. The total cost must have been over £2,000 and was probably nearer £3,000. The house and land cost £1,200 at least. President Clap valued Yale's 1,000 volumes at £400 at least; they must have cost considerably more. The organ for Newport church cost £180; it was insured for £150, and provision for an organist was made. Berkeley paid the freight on all the goods.¹ The organ was a token of his personal feeling for the church where he had often preached, where his two children were baptized and one buried, whose rector was his first host in America, his friend and correspondent. The organ was in use for 150 years, and part of it is incorporated into the present instrument.

Here are further particulars about the principal donations. On 26 July 1732 Berkeley signed an instrument (see Appendix IIIb) conveying his farm of 96 acres with the house, Whitehall, to Yale for 5s; the annual rent and profit of the same, after deducting expenses, are to be applied to the maintenance of two resident students between their first and second degrees; the students are to be elected annually in May by the president and the senior Episcopal missionary; the election to be by merit only, after a public examination in Greek and Latin. A second deed was found necessary. It is dated 17 August 1733; it gives the name of the president, Elisha Williams, and describes the corporation of Yale; in it three scholars are to be elected instead of two. Both these deeds are mentioned in Berkeley's correspondence.

This endowment, like his almost contemporary gift of the lovely "Berkeley Gold Medal for Greek"² to Trinity College, Dublin, has proved, and is still proving a highly successful foundation. In 1852 the *Yale Literary Magazine* published a list of their "Berkeley scholars" from 1733 onwards, and the list then included the names of some of the most eminent men in America, including Dwight and Wheelock, Presidents of the United States. Apart from its monetary value, which is considerable, the endowment has sentimental value; it has provided a personal link between Berkeley and the continuous life of a home of learning, a link that would otherwise have been lost, no doubt, within a generation or two. The link was strengthened in 1900 when the Society

¹ see Rand, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-67; *B&P*, p. 292; Allen and McClure, *History of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 251. ² see below, p. 160.

of Colonial Dames of Rhode Island purchased from the university a long lease of Whitehall with half an acre of land around it, and began to preserve it as a public memorial of Berkeley's visit and mission.

Harvard already had a considerable library, and therefore received the smaller number of books. It was a wise, well-chosen gift; Berkeley had visited the Harvard library, had studied its contents with a librarian's eye, had noted its deficiency in the Latin classics, and therefore presented "a box of books containing all the Latin classick authors in quarto, being of the fairest editions and the best comments."¹

Fifteen years later Harvard received a second benefaction from Berkeley. On 10 April 1747 the Secretary of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel reported receipt of a donation of £200 from the Bishop of Cloyne, of which £50 was to be spent on approved writings of the Church of England divines and Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, to be sent as a gift to Harvard. The books were sent in 1748, and on 18 February 1749 the President, Edward Holyoke, wrote gratefully acknowledging receipt. The Berkeley donation perished in the fire that destroyed Harvard Hall in 1764.²

The Yale donation of books was much larger, consisting of eight boxes. Berkeley wrote two letters about them on 31 May 1733, one to Mr. Williams, the Rector of Yale, and one to Samuel Johnson. He tells Williams that the books are for the library of Yale, and are intended by the donors for the increase of religion and learning; he tells Johnson that there are eight cases of books, and he asks (he had been Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin) that statutes and regulations as to using and lending them should be made, suggesting that where they are lent out a deposit should be required. In August of the same year he writes again to Williams, sending the catalogue, referring to the two deeds he has signed, and telling Williams to take whichever he prefers, and to cancel the other. A useful commentary on the book gifts to both colleges is furnished by Newman's letter to Johnson of 1 June 1733³; he congratulates Johnson on "the noble present of books sent over to Yale College" in the *Dolphin*; there are eight large cases consigned to Messrs. Foy and Belcher at Boston;

¹ see his letter to Wadsworth sent along with the books, found by me in the archives of the S.P.C.K., and published *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 110. ² S.P.G. archives and Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, p. 63. ³ This and the other letters about the books were published by me in *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6.

they were bought from four different booksellers to save time, and the catalogues are not complete yet, but they will follow ; one case has gone to Harvard ; Yale received the larger gift because her need was greater ; the governors should take steps to perpetuate the memory of the benefactor, and make regulations for the proper use of the benefaction.

Both suggestions were acted on. The trustees of Yale met in the library on 12 September 1733, passed a resolution of thanks to the Dean, and ordered suitable provision to be made for the housing of the books ; and from that day to this Yale has repeatedly recognized the value of the gift, and has shown due gratitude. Only recipients can measure the value of some gifts, and this was such a gift. The commercial value of the books was very considerable ; but there was far more to it than that. Yale at the time was a small, struggling institution with 30 or 40 students, supplying that district with clergymen and schoolmasters ; and the gift meant prestige, and helped to turn an " academy " into a university. Her library was " in an infant state," and this comprehensive collection of representative works was a broadening influence, and had a truly seminal effect.¹ In 1766 the rector described the donation as " the finest collection of books that ever came together at one time into America." As early as August 1733 a poem composed in his honour at Yale had been sent to Berkeley ; during his lifetime he repeatedly received the thanks of the college, and on his death a memorial oration was delivered there in which he was described as " generosus ille benefactor et vere Maecenas noster." ² Whether a centenary celebration of the donation was held in 1833 I do not know ; but I had the good fortune to see the public exhibition of *Berkeleiana* by which Yale observed the bi-centenary in 1933. In the Memorabilia Room were set out the title deeds of Whitehall, autograph letters by Berkeley, and a selection of the books he gave. The books as I saw them then were in fine condition ; they number about a thousand, covering theology, philosophy, languages, and practically all the then recognized branches of learning. A catalogue of them is given in the *Yale University Library Gazette* for July 1933, that number being almost entirely devoted to the commemoration, and containing interesting letters from Mrs. Anne Berkeley and to her.

¹ see Newman's letter to Benson, 1741, *ib.* ² Yale contributed to the fund for the Berkeley memorial in Cloyne Cathedral, and was represented by Professor Wallace Notestein at the bicentenary service there on 12 September 1934. The Society of Colonial Dames was represented at that service by Mrs. Graham.



THE DEAN AND HIS COMPANIONS

from the original, by John Smibert, at Yale : said to have been painted at Boston 1731. Standing : John Smibert, John Moffatt, John James, Dean Berkeley. Sitting : Richard Dalton, Miss Handcock, Mrs. Anne Berkeley, the infant Henry Berkeley

Yale figures in Berkeley's correspondence from time to time for the rest of his life ; it was his foster-child, taking the place of the college of his dreams. In his letter to Johnson of April 1734 he accepts an alteration in the rules for the appointment of Berkeley scholars, one to be elected for three years, instead of three for one year, and he is willing that books should be lent to non-members on payment of caution money. In the following year he expresses his gratification that the public examinations are fulfilling their purpose, and that some of Johnson's family have distinguished themselves. In March 1736 he notes that there is a healthy rivalry among the scholars at Newhaven, and that learning is advancing there ; in May 1738 he has heard further good accounts from Johnson ; in August 1749 he hears with pleasure of " the prosperous state of learning in your college," as shown by the elegant address to him in the Latin tongue composed by Johnson's sons, now apparently on the staff. In 1750 he had heard from Mr. Clap, the president, to the same effect. In 1751, two years before his death, he writes to both Clap and Johnson ; to the former he says, " The daily increase of learning and religion in your seminary of Yale College give me very sensible pleasure, and an ample recompence for my poor endeavours to further those good ends." ¹

Domestic sorrow darkened the departure for England ² ; the infant daughter, Lucia, died on 5 September, their last Sunday in Rhode Island, and was buried in Newport churchyard. Replying on 7 September to a kindly letter of farewell from Johnson, Berkeley says that he is on the point of setting out for Boston to take ship for England, and that he is leaving with Kay a box of books to be distributed among the youths at Yale. Shortly afterwards he and his wife with their young son Henry said good-bye to Whitehall, their American home, and to Newport, and all their friends there, and crossing the bay they made the journey overland to Boston, which they reached on Friday the 10th ; no doubt James and Dalton and Smibert, companions of their outward voyage, were there to meet them ; and tradition assigns to this period Smibert's painting or completion of the celebrated group, long preserved in the Smiberts' studio, and acquired by Yale in 1808, where it is still to be seen. ³ There are eight figures :

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 327. ² The decision to return had been taken in the previous spring, and was soon known ; on the 20 April 1731 Dr. Cutler wrote to Grey, " Dean Berkeley is coming home, leaving us lamenting the loss of him." ³ see above, p. 113, and Appendix IV.

the Dean on the right in wig and white bands and black cassock, dominates the group ; his right hand is on a closed book, and he is apparently dictating. Opposite him seated is Richard Dalton, with expressive features finely chiselled, looking up at Berkeley as if to catch his words and enter them with the quill on the open page of the manuscript volume. Seated next to her husband is Mrs. Berkeley with the child on her knee ; a lady, said to be Miss Handcock, is on her right. Standing behind Mrs. Berkeley is John James, a slight figure with earnest delicate face. A friend, said to be John Moffat, and the artist himself balance the group on the left.

The Berkeleys spent twelve days in Boston, and from contemporary newspapers and the diaries of Walker and of Sewall, Dr. Rand has pieced together a lively little picture of their stay.¹ Their host was Colonel Francis Brinley, who in 1723 had built "one of the finest mansions in Roxbury" on the site now occupied by the cathedral of the Redemptionist Fathers. It was named Datchet House, after the family seat at Datchet in England.² On the Sunday after his arrival Berkeley preached in King's Chapel, a fine church, which still stands. The rector at the time was the Rev. Roger Price, who had succeeded the Rev. Samuel Myles in 1728. To the following entry in Walker's diary we owe our knowledge of Berkeley's visit to this church : "On Lord's Day 12 [September 1731] in ye morn Dean George Berkeley preacht in ye Chapel from ye 1st Epistle to Timothy ye 3rd Chap. Verse 16, and a fine sermon ; according to my opinion I never heard such a one. A very great auditory." The text, *Great is the mystery of godliness*, was a favourite of Berkeley's, and has an obvious reference to the freethinkers' cliché, "Christianity not mysterious"—a subject much in Berkeley's mind, as he had been writing the *Alciphron*.³

On the following Friday Berkeley visited Harvard. Rand names three college buildings which must have been seen by

¹ Rand, *Berkeley's American Sojourn*, pp. 43ff. ² I read an inscription on the south wall of Holy Trinity Church, Newport, in memory of "Francis Brinley of Datchet, England, Esq. 1632-1719 who settled in Newport in 1651." Presumably this was the grandfather who in 1710 invited his grandson, then a boy at Eton, and later Berkeley's host, to come to Newport, and made him his heir. ³ He had preached from the same text at Newport, apparently on 3 August 1729, and his notes for the sermon are in the Berkeley Papers (MS. 39306, pp. 146-47) ; the "mystery" is the Incarnation, and the sermon is chiefly an argument for the divinity of our Lord. The same MS. volume contains three full-length sermons on the same text, listed in my Inventory in Jessop's *Bibliography* as p, u, and v ; p (MS., pp. 168-91) is the finest of the three, and it may well have been the discourse which so impressed Walker. See J. Wild, *George Berkeley*, pp. 512-20, and my "Two Sermons by Bishop Berkeley," *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xliii, c. 8.

him : Harvard Hall, a stately edifice of brick, containing the library, a lecture room, and some students' rooms, built in 1677, and destroyed by fire in 1764 ; the old Stoughton Hall, where the students dined, built in 1699, and replaced by the present Stoughton Hall in 1806 ; and Massachusetts' Hall, built in 1720 at the expense of the province, the most imposing of the college buildings of the day.

Berkeley visited Harvard. The bald statement holds pathos and drama. The college buildings on the hill with the noble river sweeping round its base must even then have been an impressive sight ; and what did that sight hold for Berkeley, the president of a dream college in the West, which he knew now was never to be built ? It makes one think of Tantalus in the legend, and of Scott at the South Pole. It makes one think of Moses on Pisgah. By intuition, by prophetic vision, if you like, Berkeley years before had seen the future greatness of the land when he wrote, "Westward the course of Empire takes its way." Now he saw the evidence with his own shrewd eyes, and his feelings were mixed. With sorrow for his own St. Paul's College that was not to be, with a momentary twinge of envy, no doubt, but with the philosopher's generous pride in man, in the universal commonwealth of learning, and the republic of letters that knows no frontier, he must have gazed at Harvard on the hill in the land of promise, perhaps seeing it through the mist of coming years as a shining home of learning with a world-wide fame.

Details of the visit to Harvard are scanty ; the principal authority is Sewall's diary, and there is an allusion to the visit in Berkeley's letter to Wadsworth about the books.¹ The Rev. Joseph Sewall, fellow of the college, and minister of the old South Church, wrote in his diary on 17 September 1731 : "Dean Berkeley visited the College. Col. Hutchinson and I overtook him at Mr Brinley's." Thomas Hutchinson was a wealthy merchant and a member of His Majesty's Council for the province,² and he probably had some official position in the college ; for Newman couples him and Wadsworth as "of Harvard."³ The Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth was president of the college from 1725 to 1737, and Rand makes the very natural supposition that he would have received the distinguished visitor as his guest in the building now called Wadsworth House. He may have done so, but I have found no record of it, and in Berkeley's letter to

¹ "As they seemed to me wanting in your publick library," *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 110. ² Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 47. ³ *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 108.

Wadsworth there is no hint of a meeting. The letter is completely lacking in the personal touch which came naturally to Berkeley, and it is more than unlikely that the two men had met. The letter does show that Berkeley visited the library, took note of its contents, and observed the absence of the Latin classics.

Berkeley is not likely to have left the Rev. Dr. Cutler unvisited ; but we have no further record of his doings in Boston. From Walker's diary and the Boston newspapers, the *Weekly Rehearsal* and the *Weekly News Letter*, we know that the party set sail on Tuesday 21 September in Captain Carlin's ship. The Rev. George Pigot of Marble Head embarked with them. The winds were fair, the voyage quick, and they reached London, it would seem, on 30 October.¹

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 279.

CHAPTER X

BACK IN LONDON

BERKELEY came back to London *re infecta*, with nothing to show for the work and planning of ten long years. He returned defeated, but undaunted, disappointed, but not depressed. He was not a beaten man, much less an embittered man. He took his place in London society as before, resumed old friendships, formed new ones, and held his head high. His reception at Court, in Church circles, and by his friends shows that in general no blame was attached to him personally for the failure of the American project ; he was regarded as the victim of circumstances and public policy, and past opponents of his scheme now showed themselves well disposed towards his person and career. He was not so active physically as he had been ; his health was impaired, but he had twenty years of life before him, and he put them to good use, shouldering his tasks with courage, cheerfulness, and equanimity.

He took a house in Green Street, and there he and his wife and small family lived for two years and a half. It was for him a second period of waiting, of waiting for a mark of royal favour. By modern standards he should have gone straight back to Ireland, resided in Derry, and discharged the duties of his office ; but had he done so, in the circumstances of those days, his position would have been difficult, if not intolerable ; the absence of royal approval would have been taken universally as a mark of disapproval ; latent opposition, jealousy, and envy would break out ; his leadership and powers of service would be at an end. We may be sure that the Court approved and even desired his continued residence in London, and for his biographer the main interest of these years is the preferment for which he was destined. What would it be ? When would it come ?

But first we must notice some points of detail taken largely from Percival's journal.¹ Percival's town house was in Pall Mall, and Charlton, his leased country house, was near Greenwich, within half a day's drive. The two friends often met at one or

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 279.

other of these houses. They dined together two days after the landing, and the Dean "seems rejoiced that he treads English ground after three years' absence in a country of which he gives an indifferent account." The phrase should not be taken too literally. Berkeley was glad to be back. America was to him a land of hope and promise still, but in culture and things of the spirit the land was backward, and hence these efforts for its improvement. Berkeley and Percival in their several ways were still working for America's good; on 12 January 1732 they dined together; Mr. Oglethorpe joined them, and "we sat from dinner to ten o'clock discoursing of our Carolina project." Berkeley dined at Charlton on 14 May 1732.¹ He was with Percival in London on 1 May 1732, and in 1733 on 9 February, 14 April (on which day he married Percival's daughter Katherine to Mr. Hanmer), 22 May (on which day the details of Berkeley's loan of £3,000 to Percival were to be settled), 1 June, and 1 August. In this spring Viscount Percival of Kanturk became the Earl of Egmont, and Berkeley calls to congratulate him, and ten months later the congratulations were returned.

All this time Berkeley was in constant touch with Prior in Dublin by letter, and the two friends were of service to the Government by furnishing statistics about the distribution of religious denominations, and about the justices of the peace. The Vanessa business was not yet concluded, and the Partinton suit was dragging on. On 28 September 1733 the second son, George, was born.²

Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher appeared early in 1732. On 19 February Percival received a copy, did not know it was by Berkeley (for Berkeley had said nothing about it), but guessed it was his from its Socratic style. Percival evidently did not notice the appended Essay on Vision, once dedicated to himself.³ The work was widely read and discussed. Gay writes of it to Swift on 19 May. Swift had thought it too speculative, and Gay agrees, but has read it and likes many parts of it. Bolingbroke had read it by July, and prefers it to Delany's *Religion examined with candour* (1732). Within a week of its publication it was "the discourse of the Court," and the Queen had publicly commended it⁴; a second edition was called for within the year.

On Friday 18 February 1732 Berkeley preached the anniver-

¹ *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 117. ² see below, p. 183. ³ On the *Alciphron* see above, p. 131; on the discussion to which it gave rise, see below, p. 163. ⁴ Rand, *B&P*, p. 281.

sary sermon before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, in the parish church of St. Mary-le-bow.¹ This sermon, published in 1732 and reprinted in the *Miscellany* in 1752, opens with a general defence of foreign missions, gives an account of Rhode Island, and makes some practical recommendations. Rhode Island is chiefly inhabited by sectaries, many of whom have lost their religious sense, and most of whom live without the sacraments and are not even baptized. The native Indians in the colony who used to number several thousands have been reduced to one thousand by drink and smallpox. The Negroes number about 1,500, only a few of whom are baptized. The opinion is commonly held there that slaves are not fit subjects for baptism,² though an opinion to the contrary by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General has been printed and circulated in the colony. We should take a lesson, he says, from the French and Spaniards; they christianize Indians and Negroes, establish episcopacy among them and seminaries for the clergy; and these measures do not make their colonies any less dependent on the mother country. Missions should begin with the English planters. The preacher pays a high tribute to the Society's missionaries, their conduct, discretion, and knowledge, and he suggests that their salaries should be augmented in proportion to the length of their service, and that the expenses (reckoned by Updike as £100) of those who cross the ocean to receive Holy Orders should be defrayed.

Turn now to his private affairs. On landing Berkeley nearly stepped straight into the deanery of Down, worth £200 more than Derry. Queen Caroline had all her old interest in religious philosophy and philosophers, and actually nominated him, it is said, for the preferment.³ There was strong opposition from Ireland. The Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin persuaded the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, to write over "that he

¹ The Journal of the S.P.G. shows that on the same day he was proposed for membership, thanked for his sermon, and asked to print it. Other references in this journal to Berkeley are: 17 March, 21 April (his election). On 16 February 1733 he recommends a Mr. Scott (is this the member of the R.I. Philos. Society?) to be schoolmaster under Honeyman, and hopes that the latter's application for an increase of stipend will be considered. On 10 April 1747, 16 January 1748, and 18 February 1749 are minutes relating to the second benefaction to Harvard, see above, p. 147. ² Berkeley's own slaves, whose indentures are among the Berkeley Papers in the British Museum, were baptized by him; see Fraser, *LL*, p. 187, and Updike, *op. cit.*, p. 397. ³ Stock says that on his return from America the queen often commanded his attendance at Court to discuss America. The statement is hard to reconcile with his own words to Prior (January 1734): "I have not been at the Court or at the Minister's but once these seven years."

was a madman, and highly disagreeable to all the King's best friends in Ireland." On 22 February 1732 Percival wrote in his journal: "I heard the mortifying news there that Dean Berkeley has missed of the Deanery of Down by a villainous letter wrote from the Primate of Ireland that the Dean is a madman and disaffected to the Government. Thus the worthiest, the learnedest, the wisest and most virtuous divine of the three kingdoms is by an unparalleled wickedness made to give way to. . . ." A few days later Berkeley told Percival that the Queen had said upon the arrival of those letters that she must then provide for him in England.

On the Sunday after the bad news came, Berkeley and Percival dined together, and after dinner they went to the King's Chapel, where Percival expected to meet Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Salisbury, brother of the Archbishop of Dublin, "resolved to show my resentment at the usage given Dean Berkeley." And he did show it, and he has left in his journal a graphic pen-picture of the scene; the conversation was in whispers while the lessons were being read. "Dean Berkeley went to the Chapel and sat over against us. I said to the Bishop, yonder is one of the worthiest, most learned, and most unexceptionable men in the three kingdoms, who has met with the wretchedest usage that ever was heard of. Who is that? said the Bishop. Dean Berkeley, said I. . . . The Bishop then said, I mistook the matter, that indeed the Dean had made the first application on this side, but the preferment of Dean Daniel to Down was a regular scheme sent over from Ireland, and the king immediately complied with it. . . . I replied I had nothing to say against Dean Daniel, but that the methods to serve him by taking away Dean Berkeley's reputation were wicked and unpardonable. The Bishop replied, Dean Berkeley had done himself a great deal of hurt by undertaking that ridiculous project of converting the Indians, and leaving his Deanery where there was business enough for him to convert the Papists, and that his bishop had writ to him and laid it on his conscience to return home, which he did not comply with. . . ." ¹

Three weeks later Berkeley begs Percival to see the Bishop of London on his behalf and make the point that he was not disaffected towards the Government, but, on the contrary, he had supported the Hanoverian succession, and had written his *Advice to the Tories* on the accession of King George I. The Government

¹ For another account of the Deanery of Down, see Stopford-Sackville MSS., p. 3, 1884; J. Wild, *George Berkeley*, pp. 371-72.

were intending to provide for him in England and the deanery of Canterbury was mentioned. On the next day Percival saw the bishop, who agreed that Berkeley had been badly treated, but said it was not possible to make him an English bishop or dean ; it would revolt the clergy ; his loyalty was not seriously questioned ; the only thing to be done was to make him an Irish bishop, and he must go over to his deanery with assurances that he would be made a bishop when a vacancy occurred.

Berkeley had an influential friend behind the scenes who at this time made interest for him at Court. This was Judge Wainwright, Baron of the Exchequer, who corresponded with Mrs. Clayton. Three letters of his about Berkeley are given by Mrs. Thomson.¹ From these we learn that Berkeley was to wait upon the Queen on 31 December 1731, the Bishop of Bangor taking him. "Give me leave to be," writes Wainwright, "as I have often been, an advocate for the Dean with your Ladyship. . . . Forget Bermuda, and he will shine among the clergy and do honour to the Church by his virtue and learning." Then came the *canard* of his being mad and disaffected, which Wainwright calls "the whisper of a few, perhaps one subtle, designing man," and answers by telling Mrs. Clayton that Berkeley had been chosen to write the Latin inscription on the Dublin statue of the late king (see above, p. 85), and that he had waited on the present king when as prince he had accepted the office of Chancellor of Dublin University, and had received a gold medal in honour of the occasion and in recognition of his services. Then on 11 April 1732 (Mrs. Thomson's dates appear to waver between the Old style and the New) "The Dean is in a great distress" ; he has preached a sermon before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, and it is printed, and, as usual, copies should be presented to the King and Queen, and royal family and the ladies of the bedchamber. But the Dean is too ill to face the ceremony of presenting it ; he has actually a blister on his head. Might he place the copy for Her Majesty in Mrs. Clayton's hands along with her own copy ?

Knowing that out of sight is out of mind, Berkeley stayed on in London, waiting for a vacancy. From his letters to Prior we see that his old plan of a sinecure that would enable him to live a life of learned leisure in Dublin had occurred to him, and he seems to have rented a house on Arbor Hill in the northern suburbs with that end in view. The deanery of Dromore and the chan-

¹ *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon*, vol. ii, pp. 165-78.

cellorship of Connor were thought of. Soon, however, he reports that he expects "the offer of somewhat," and on 19 January 1734 he announces that he has kissed hands for the bishopric of Cloyne.

The preferment was his due ; he had given years of loyal, enlightened service to the Church ; he had spent his time and substance and risked his reputation in furtherance of a noble scheme of imperial importance, which had won the support of King and Parliament ; and in view of its apparent failure, some mark of royal approval and public recognition was essential to him, if he was to be in a position to render further service to Church and State.

His elevation to the Bench came about happily, and was well received. The Lord Lieutenant, supposed to be his enemy, had taken the initiative about it ; Walpole and Lord Wilmington concurred ; the Queen silenced the Archbishop of Dublin ; the King readily complied. Berkeley's own feelings were somewhat mixed ; his health at the time was none too good ; disorders in the head interfered with his reading and writing, and he tells Prior he had "a strong *penchant* to be Dean of Dromore and not to take the charge of a bishopric upon me." But he was pleased, and he tells jocularly of an attack of the gout, and "with my feet lapped up in flannels and raised on a cushion I receive the visits of my friends, who congratulate me on this occasion as much as on my preferment."

Arrangements for the removal took some time. On 19 February he sent to Baron Wainwright a formal resignation of his deanery. He hears that Cloyne is worth £1,200, and has a demesne of 800 acres, and he does not know whether the value of the land is reckoned in the £1,200. He asks Prior to find out. Prior suggests that he ought to apply for a better see, and Berkeley replies : "To be so very hasty for a removal, even before I had seen Cloyne, would argue a greater greediness for lucre than I hope I shall ever have." He tried to ship his library direct to Cork ; but finding no ship available, he had to ship it to Dublin. Meantime in London he interviews officials about the Bankers' Bill,¹ which Prior tells him is a matter of national concern. Delays occurred, and he was unable to leave London till the end of April. He writes to Prior from St. Albans on 30 April ; he is on the point of taking coach, and expects to reach Chester on Saturday 4 May, and to embark there for Dublin with his family and coach

¹ see below, p. 192.

and six. We may presume that he reached Dublin early in the following week, just missing the Duke and Duchess of Dorset, who left Dublin for England on 1 May.

Berkeley was consecrated on 19 May 1734 in St. Paul's Church, Dublin, by Theophilus Bolton, Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by Nicholas Forster, Bishop of Raphoe, his wife's uncle, and by Charles Carr, Bishop of Killaloe.¹

Berkeley, it would seem, spent some four or five weeks in Dublin, lodging in Gervais Street; but of this his last visit but one to the Irish metropolis we know very little. He would meet Thomas Prior, whom he had not seen for six years; also his favourite brother Robert (Robin), who had recently married and vacated his fellowship, and who was to rejoin him seven years later in the south and be his right-hand man in diocesan affairs. His old friend, Swift, now the hero of Ireland and the idol of Dublin, was at St. Patrick's Deanery. At Delville in the suburbs he would meet Dr. Delany, wit and man of letters, and Mrs. Delany, gracious leader of Dublin society. On the staff of his old university there would still, no doubt, be some of that group of young enthusiasts who eight or nine years previously had volunteered to go with him to evangelize and educate the distant west. Was there restraint on either side, or shyness, when they met? For Berkeley once or twice speaks as if he had not been properly supported by his "associates." Well, they had other things to talk about. A few weeks earlier there had been serious rioting in the college, and the Rev. Edward Ford, an unpopular junior fellow, had been shot in a fracas with the students, and had died (8 March). The case agitated the college for many a day.

In spite of this disturbance the college was flourishing, and showing a marked increase in numbers and in learning. Burgh's great new library, begun in 1712 when Berkeley was a resident junior fellow, had been completed in 1732. The beautiful little Doric printing house was through the generosity of Bishop Stearne just being built,² and Berkeley made a notable contribution by presenting a fount of Greek type costing about £40, which enabled the University Press to publish in 1738 Plato's *Dialogues*, said to have been the first Greek book printed in Ireland. The College Register for 20 August 1735 records the loan of the type to

¹ Edward Synge was Bishop of Cloyne and was translated to Ferns and Leighlin. On this vacancy George Berkeley "was appointed Bishop of Cloyne with the union of Aghada in commendam by King's licence, dated 18 January, and by patent of 5 March 1734." [Stock's *Life* gives 17 March—Ed.], W. M. Brady, *Records* (1864), vol. iii, p. 115. ² see inscription over the entrance.

Dr. Cope "at the instance and request of the Bishop of Cloyne, who gave the said types to the College."¹

About the same time he further showed his goodwill to the college and his special interest in Greek by founding the Berkeley gold medal for Greek. Prior, at Berkeley's expense, distributed one or two of these beautifully designed medals, with the Pindaric racehorse² and the Horatian and Homeric mottoes, annually for many years, and shortly before his death Berkeley endowed the medal in perpetuity.

Before he left Dublin for the south, apparently, he printed and published a book of his own, the *Analyst*, and this chapter will conclude with a sketch of his second main period of authorship, of which that work forms part.³ Perhaps I should begin it with a warning against reading too much into the phrase "period of authorship." Berkeley's books are difficult to group, whether by period or by subject-matter. Berkeley's mind was not built in sections, his philosophical writing overflows into religion, and his religious writing into politics, sociology, economics, and mathematics. Nor do the years of his life fall with nicety into periods of silence and periods of authorship; he was never silent for very long. The great vintage years were those already mentioned, say from 1707 to 1713; and he was comparatively silent during his years of travel and during his years of toil for America; but small works, by no means unimportant, break those silences; and no doubt he wrote what never saw the light.⁴ He had so much to give; he could not for long restrain his giving. And so when I speak of a second period of authorship beginning with the *Alciphron*, the phrase is little more than a biographical convenience; and any closing of that period, other than the final closure, is arbitrary. By the time he was a bishop the habit of writing was strong, and persistent in him; he wrote on a variety of public questions, and much that he wrote is relatively unimportant to-day; but almost all of it is good writing; and he is writing now, not (as in his youth) to get a hearing for a revolutionary thesis, but as an acknowledged leader of thought with a European reputation, placing his experience at the service of the public.

¹ see the college "Miscellaneous Disbursements" for June 1734 on the carriage of the type; Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* for 28 May 1734; G. Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin*, p. 157. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 330n, mistakenly calls it a Pegasus. The mottoes are, *Vos exemplaria Græca*, and *αὐτὸν ἀποτρέψεν*. See my "Bishop Berkeley's Gold Medals," *Hermathena*, No. lxxv, 1945. ³ Advertisement in the *Dublin Journal* for Tuesday, 4 June 1734: Just published and sold by Joseph Leathley, bookseller, Dame Street, *The Analyst*, price 13d. ⁴ The manuscript of his *Principles*, Part ii, was lost during his travels in Italy.

The bibliography shows that there were no very long intervals between his Cloyne publications, and I doubt if his pen was ever idle for long.

Of the *Alciphron* itself I have spoken above (p. 131); before studying the discussion it aroused we will glance at its Appendix. *The New Theory of Vision*, slightly revised, was appended to volume ii, in order to illustrate and support the crucial argument of dialogue iv, on the divine visual language. There was an important sequel. On 9 September 1732 an anonymous writer in the *Daily Post-boy*¹ commended the *Alciphron*, but chastised the Essay on Vision, and Berkeley replied with *The Theory of Vision . . . Vindicated and Explained* (1733). This important little tract was lost to sight for over a century, but was rediscovered and published by H. V. H. Cowell in 1860. Cowell's text, reproduced by Fraser, contains serious mistakes, and the significance of the work has not even yet, I think, been fully grasped by scholars. In his letter to Johnson of 4 April 1734 Berkeley says that he wrote it for two main objects: (1) to answer his critic, (2) to explain the theory. The tract achieves those aims; but I suggest that it has a further aim, veiled, but important. I suggest that Berkeley meant it to broaden the basis of his theory of vision, and so to bring its metaphysics into conformity with the *Principles*. At any rate it does so. In the earlier work without asserting matter, he had assumed it and had concealed his immaterialism, hoping that his diplomatic reticence would win his readers over into his full belief. As things turned out, it had the opposite effect; the bridge became a barrier; for with the passage of twenty years his work on vision was much better known than his *Principles*, and the semi-matterism of the earlier work prevailed over the immaterialism of the later work. Berkeley now tries to put that right; in this tract he does more than vindicate and explain; he profoundly modifies the metaphysical basis of the theory of vision, virtually saying (SS. 35, 38) that in the essay he had admitted "divers things as true, which, in a rigorous sense, are not such," and that his earlier argument had proceeded on "false and popular suppositions." But here, in the tract (SS. 12, 17, 19, 32), matter under other names is clearly condemned; the objects of all the other senses are, as regards their cause, placed on the same footing as the objects of sight (S. 29), and his complete doctrine of cause, never mentioned in the Essay on Vision, is here given (SS. 11-29) clearly and with emphasis, and the total passivity

¹ A London issue, not Dublin, as Fraser, *Works* (1871), vol. i, p. 371n.

of all the objects of sense is declared. If then we are to take the terms in the title precisely, we must say that the tract of 1733 *explains* the Essay on Vision by supplementing and correcting its metaphysical defects, and *vindicates* it by thus incorporating it in the full philosophy of immaterialism.

Berkeley's theory of vision, as distinct from his immaterialism, began about this time to achieve fame; it was treated with respect in R. Smith's comprehensive work, *A Compleat System of Opticks* (1738); Voltaire¹ in 1738, and later, Condillac and Diderot more or less accepted it and gave it currency on the Continent, and it was soon to attract the attention of Porterfield and the Scottish school, and so to win for a time general acceptance. His reputation as a thinker and a writer was now established, and was emphasized by his elevation to the Bench, and the fame of the Bermuda project; in consequence within three or four years, from 1732 to 1736, we find not only his own series of new publications, but as well new editions of the Essay on Vision, of the *Principles*, and of the *Three Dialogues*, controversial writings called forth by his *Alciphron* and mathematical tracts, and the first full-dress criticism of his immaterialism.

Let us begin with a few words on this last work. In 1733 Andrew Baxter published in two volumes *An Enquiry into the nature of the Human Soul*. The work goes beyond the title and contains an ambitious proof of the existence of God resting on the inertia of material substance, and on the immateriality of the soul. Both arguments are deflated by the rejection of matter. Accordingly Baxter devotes a long section (vol. ii, sect. ii, 3rd ed.) to a refutation of Berkeley. He says (p. 239) that Berkeley "seems serious, and writes pieces one after another to support this kind of scepticism, and continues in these sentiments for such a number of years." This is clear proof that Berkeley's contemporaries knew nothing of the doctrinal "development" and withdrawals, freely, but groundlessly, postulated by modern criticism. The stupidity of Baxter's argument can be gathered from the following extract (*ib.*): "It seems impossible that a man should be seriously persuaded that he has neither country nor parents nor any material body, nor eats nor drinks nor lyes in a house; but that all these things are mere illusions, and have no existence, but in the fancy." Johnson in America had seen Baxter's book or heard of it, and he asks Berkeley about it. In April 1734 Berkeley writes of it and of Browne's *Analogy*: "They are both very little read or

¹ *Elémens de la philosophie de Newton*, Ch. 6.

considered here ; for which reason I have taken no public notice of them. To answer objections already answered, and repeat the same things is a needless as well as a disagreeable task." The book subsequently had some vogue, reaching a third edition in 1745 ; but it was not worth powder and shot. Baxter makes no serious attempt to understand Berkeley's system and argument, and is content to launch a popular attack on the popular notion of immaterialism, which is poles apart from Berkeley's immaterialism.

Turn now to the discussion aroused by the *Alciphron*. First there is Mandeville's *A Letter to Dion* (London, 1732). This is a mild and ineffective reply by a tired and beaten man who had suffered much from Grand Juries ; it is couched in respectful language, and gives the soft answer that does *not* turn away wrath. He answers Berkeley on some points of detail, but his main point is that Berkeley could not have read *The Fable of the Bees* himself, but is only attacking a man of straw.

Much more vigorous is *Some Remarks on the Minute Philosopher*,¹ by John, Lord Hervey, who attacks Berkeley's diction, style, aims, and method. Posing as a country clergyman he is able to pillory the views of narrow ecclesiasticism. He ridicules Berkeley's habit of quoting "pompous authorities," charges him with affectation in the use of words, with placing sound before sense, and finds him "often unclear, oftener unfair, and always unsatisfactory." *Alciphron* and Lysicles are "a couple of merry-Andrews" ; Euphranor and Crito are "grave quacks," and the method of dialogue is an affectation. *Alciphron* will injure Christianity just because it appeals to reason and philosophy—weapons that should not be used in support of the Faith. Tertullian is right : "Miror quia absurdum est, et credo quia impossibile est."

Hoadly's criticism is similar² : "I heartily wish that both he (Delany) and his brother Berkeley (who is truly the title of his own book) would keep their minute philosophy to themselves ; or at least would let religion alone, and not blend them into one inconsistent lump. . . . Dean B. particularly has beautiful imagery and fine expression, and fruitful invention. But as to the native simplicity of religion, they are made to hurt it ; and if they cannot be said to corrupt it, it is only because it is corrupted already to their hands. . . . I think *Alciphron* the most plain attempt to bring obscurity and darkness into all science, as well as to

¹ London, 1732, 2 editions. ² Letter to Mrs. Clayton (Lady Sundon), see *Life* prefixed to Hoadly's Works in folio, No. xviii p. li.

make nonsense essential to religion, that this last age has produced. . . ."

Hervey and Hoadly take the same line for differing reasons. They both want "the native simplicity of religion" *without philosophy*, Hoadly because for him religion is founded on Act of Parliament and Articles of Religion, not on search for truth, Hervey because he was not sincere in defending Christianity, and resented Berkeley's dexterous use of reason, philosophy, and culture, the weapons of the freethinker, against freethinking.

The small tract published anonymously in 1734 with the title *A Vindication of the Reverend D. B . . . y from the scandalous Imputation of being Author of a late Book, intituled Alciphron or the minute philosopher* is as heavy as its title ; it is a stupid defence of Shaftesbury, scarcely worth a notice.

Peter Browne added 200 pages to Chapter viii of his *Divine Analogy* in reply to Berkeley's criticism of his principles in dialogue iv, but makes obscurity obscurer and confusion worse confounded.

Berkeley followed up his defence of Christianity with an attack on infidelity. In January 1734 he tells Prior¹ that he passes his "early hours in thinking of certain mathematical matters, which may possibly produce something." The *Analyst* resulted. According to Stock, Addison had told Berkeley that Sir Samuel Garth in his last illness had refused the consolations of religion on the ground that Edmund Halley (1656-1742) had convinced him that there was no truth in it. This incident and the fact that Baxter had challenged him to make good his suggestions about mathematics in the *Principles* occasioned *The Analyst or a discourse addressed to an infidel mathematician*.² The infidel mathematician is not individualized, but Halley may be in view as he is represented as an arbiter of opinion who pronounced on religious matters. The *Analyst* is in part a criticism of Newton's doctrine of fluxions, and in part an argument *ad hominem* for Christianity. Berkeley argues that there are mysteries in mathematics as well as in Christianity, and "he can who digest a second or third fluxion, a second or third difference, need not, methinks, be squeamish about any point in divinity."³ The work gave rise to a long continued controversy among mathematicians which proved fruitful for mathematics itself.

Dr. Jurin fired the first shot back, writing as Philalethes

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 210. ² cf. *Analyst*, S. 7 ; *Defence of Free-thinking*, S. 7. ³ *Analyst*, S. 7.



original



intermediate



present



THE BERKELEY GOLD MEDAL FOR GREEK

instituted by Berkeley c 1735, endowed by him 1752 with the addition of his initials G B on the obverse. The original die does not show the author's name, the intermediate die is by John Kirk (1724-76), the present die was cut 1867 by J S and A B Wyon. Photographs by courtesy of Dr. O'Sullivan, the National Museum, Dublin

Cantabrigiensis, with his *Geometry No Friend to Infidelity*, London, 1734. The work is full of overstatement and rhetoric, and shows excessive deference to Newton,¹ and it tries to set the Protestant heather alight, crying out that Berkeley is for bringing back Spain and the Inquisition. This attack gave Berkeley a grand opening, of which he took full advantage in his *A Defence of Freethinking in Mathematics* (1735), a devastating piece of forcible writing which shows Berkeley's controversial powers at their highest. He uses an arsenal of weapons, and is a master in all the styles. Here you have satire, ridicule, imitation, and solid confutation. Here you have the slow, balanced, thoughtful period, rising to a crescendo (like Section 16). Here are dazzling rapier thrusts: "My aim is truth; my reasons I have given. Confute them if you can; but think not to overbear me with either authorities or harsh words" (S. 34). Here is the naughty humour of "A page or two after, you very candidly represent your case to be that of an ass between two bottles of liay; it is your own expression" (S. 29). In June of the same year Dr. Jurin came back with his *The Minute Mathematician; or the free-thinker no just thinker . . .*, a violent, abusive, personal, and vulgar tract, to which Berkeley made no reply.

A lesser antagonist appeared in J. Walton, a Dublin schoolmaster, who in 1735 published *A Vindication of Sir Isaac Newton's principles of fluxions against the objections contained in the Analyst*. Berkeley answers it in a tartly worded Appendix to his *Defence*, saying, "This Dublin Professor gleans after the Cantabrigian." Walton answered in the same year with his *The catechism of the author of The Minute Philosopher fully answer'd*. Berkeley rejoined in the same year with his *Reasons for not replying to Mr. Walton's Full Answer in a letter to P.T.P.*, to which Walton retorted in an appendix to the second edition of his *The catechism*. . . . And there the dispute ended as far as Berkeley was concerned.

The latter part of this controversy had not been conducted at a high level on either side, and it is well to conclude with a mention of a mathematical classic, which was the direct outcome of those exchanges, viz. *A Treatise of Fluxions*, by Colin MacLaurin (Edinburgh, 1742). In his Preface MacLaurin says: "A letter published in the year 1734 under the title of the *Analyst* first gave occasion to the ensuing treatise, and several reasons concurred to induce me to write on this subject at so great a length." He thinks that Berkeley had misunderstood the usual descriptions

¹ e.g. *vestigia pronus adoro*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

of the method of fluxions, and that because a person of such intelligence had misunderstood them, it was his own duty to give a fuller account. It seems, however, that some of the points made by Berkeley in the *Analyst* are solid and substantial, and are not due to misunderstanding on his part.¹

¹ Apparently MacLaurin's demonstrations had been communicated to Berkeley, but ignored by him. MacLaurin's *Account of Newton's Philosophical Discoveries*, ed. Murdoch, 1748, p. vii.

CHAPTER XI

THE CLOYNE EPISCOPATE

THE diocese of Cloyne, though historic in the sense of ancient, has not figured largely in the pages of history,¹ and it is known the world over simply because Berkeley was for nineteen years its bishop. The record of his episcopate is meagre ; he has left no monument in churches built and decorated, or in striking ecclesiastical developments ; the times did not ask such things of him, or permit them ; but he was a faithful diocesan, and a good pastor, who ministered to the multitudes of sick and needy around him, and discharged the duties of his high office with zeal and foresight.

In the early summer of 1734 the Bishop and his family in their coach and six left Dublin and made their way southward to the manse at Cloyne. The journey of some 160 miles would take them through Naas to Carlow through pleasant agricultural country, and thence through wooded land and the valley of the Barrow to Kilkenny on the Nore, Berkeley's native city and the scene of his schooling. The wild highlands of the Knockmeal-down and Comeragh Mountains have then to be crossed or skirted, and a fine prospect of the Atlantic would meet the travellers above Dungarvan, or above Youghal if they struck farther west and dropped down the Lismore road and the lovely valley of the winding Blackwater. From historic Youghal, the eastern gate of his diocese, Berkeley would take the Cork highroad which runs through Castle Martyr to Middleton, where he would leave it, and passing through the village of Ballynacorra² and its leafy lanes, he would go south for some six miles, up hill and down dale, till he reached the small town of Cloyne, on the eastern side of the long inlet of the sea which makes Cobh or Queenstown harbour, and leads by Passage West to Cork.

Cloyne, three miles from Queenstown Bay, and some twenty miles from Cork, is a small town or large village clustering round

¹ For the history of the property of the see (Bishop Bennet's MSS.), see Brady's Records, vol. iii, p. 1, and the *Pipe Colman*, edited by R. Caulfield, 1859. ² Then spelt Ballinacurra.

a cathedral. Cloyne is called Cluain-uamha in the Book of Munster, Cluain meaning a plain and uamha a cave. The name derives from a large cave that runs under the town with a mouth in the grounds of the See-house, and other caves that honeycomb the district. The cathedral takes its name from St. Colman, and is said to have been founded by the saint who lived in the sixth century. Beside the cathedral stands one of the many round towers of Ireland, a striking feature of the landscape, half belfry, half fortress, called "steeple" in the Chapter Acts, but designed originally as protection against the raiding parties of the Danes, who are known to have pillaged Cloyne in the years 822, 824, and 888. The Cloyne Round Tower was formerly 92 feet high ; its wall at the base is three feet eight inches thick. It was struck by lightning in Berkeley's time, and its bell thrown down.¹ It still stands, and repairs and restorations have not seriously impaired its beauty. The cathedral, outside and inside, has suffered both from friends and enemies. It is strong and massive as a fortress still, but lacks the softer beauties. The present building dates in the main from the thirteenth century. In the early eighteenth century the battlements were taken down, and the roof of the nave extended so as to overlap the roofs of the aisles. About twenty years after Berkeley's death a forbidding screen was erected separating the choir (70 feet long) from the nave (120 feet long). The church contains memorials to Bishops Warburton, Bennet, Brinkley, and Woodward, to the Longfield family, and to the Fitzgeralds, seneschals of Imokilly ; but for us the centre of interest is the north transept. There a stone in the pavement carved with the letter B marks the graves of Berkeley's two children, Sarah who died in infancy, and his gifted son William, who died at the age of fifteen² ; and for over a century that stone was the only Berkeley memorial in Cloyne. But in 1880 Canon Kingsmill Moore, at the time curate of Fermoy, raised a fund, secured subscriptions from admirers of Berkeley in all parts of the world, and in the same transept placed a worthy memorial, an alabaster altar tomb on which rests the recumbent figure of the Bishop in white marble ; he is in his robes ; his head is on a cushion, his left hand is on a book, and there is a symbolic lion at his feet.³

United since 1835 to Cork and Ross, the diocese has been overshadowed by the prestige of Cork ; but in extent Cloyne is larger than the other two dioceses combined, and in Berkeley's

¹ see Berkeley's letter of 2 February 1749, Fraser, *LL*, p. 320. ² see below, p. 208.
³ The sculptor was A. Bruce Joy.

day it was a separate ecclesiastical unit. It is bounded on the east by Lismore diocese, on the north by Emly and Limerick ; on the west by Ardfert and Aghadoe, and on the south by Cork diocese and by the sea from Cork to Youghal. It is composed of the compact, fertile, and prosperous barony of Imokilly in the south with a big, sprawling hinterland of mountainy terrain to the north, stretching off westward towards Killarney. In area the diocese contains over half a million acres ; the Protestant population then, as now, was small ; inhabited rectories and churches in repair were relatively few ; communications were difficult, the roads ill kept, and the distances great. " I am just returned from a tour through my diocese of 130 miles, almost shaken to pieces." So wrote Berkeley in 1746 (*Fraser, LL*, p. 310). From a return made to Parliament in 1731, we learn that there were 44 churches in the diocese, and 14,200 Protestants. Ten years later Berkeley gave the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants as 8 to 1. The civil parishes numbered over one hundred, but most of them were little more than names, a few hundred acres perhaps and a church in ruins ; in consequence there were many unions of parishes served by one incumbent ; some incumbents were non-resident, and paid a curate at £40 a year.

The cathedral system in the diocese was well established. In 1663 there were the four dignitaries, an archdeacon, and fourteen prebendaries. The chapter met regularly, and its temporal affairs were managed by an *œconomus*. Its deanery was called by Swift " a hedge deanery," i.e. it was a small affair, without a residence, with a small stipend and few duties. From 1736 to 1769 it was held by the Reverend Isaac Goldsmith, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cork, who attended chapter meetings duly, but whose time was taken up with his parish, and who does not appear in Berkeley's correspondence.

At the vacancy Swift had interested himself in another candidate, and on 15 June 1736 he wrote to Lady Germaine that His Grace had now an opportunity to serve a clergyman of great merit, Mr. John Jackson. " One Mr. Ward who died this morning had a deanery of small value ; it was a hedge deanery . . . we have many of them in Ireland ; but as it doth not require living there except a month or two in the year . . . it will be a great ease to him. . . . It is the deanery of Cloyne." In 1762 its value was returned as £60, of which half was paid to a curate.

From the chapter records we know that relations between

Berkeley and his dean and chapter were close and cordial, and that the machinery of the diocese worked smoothly. The Chapter Book of Cloyne perished in the Record Office, Dublin, in 1922, but an abstract of the Acts had been made by the Reverend James Hingston in a small vellum-bound volume, now kept in the chapter-house safe, and from a typed transcript of it made by Dean C. A. Webster I take the following facts. On 1 June 1721 the dean's manse was declared to lie in the Bishop's garden, and was made over to the Bishop in exchange for a piece of ground elsewhere. In 1738 Berkeley lent £20 to the cathedral, and it was repaid in the following years. At first he held his annual visitation on the first Wednesday in September; after 1739 the date was changed to a Wednesday in June at the request of the chapter. On 21 June 1744 the chapter adjourned to the Bishop's house at 5 p.m., and so again on 19 June 1746 at 7 p.m. On 16 March 1749 the oconomus was directed to repair the damage to the steeple (round tower) and to the cathedral windows caused by the great thunderstorm. On 17 June 1742 Dr. Robert Berkeley took the oath as treasurer, and from that on he was prominent at chapter meetings, and on the death of his brother he was elected (14 February 1753) Guardian of the Spiritualities *sede vacante*.

In the barony of Imokilly were situated Berkeley's own manse or palace, the castles and houses of his friends, and the chief centres of population in the diocese. The barony is "a pleasant fertile tract, neither incumbered with mountains, nor entirely a level; but for the greatest part consisting of two fair valleys, one extending from Cork harbour to the sea, and the other running parallel to it, being a pleasant vale extending from Middletown to Youghall. These valleys are divided by rising grounds, no less fruitful than the plains below them. . . . This barony is terminated on the W. by Cork harbour, on the S. by the sea, having its whole length embellished with creeks, bays, and fine strands."¹ This description can be illustrated from Berkeley's letters.

To see Imokilly as Berkeley saw it, one has only to see it as it is to-day. But for the wires overhead and the tar on the roads, there is little changed, little that could change. There are no striking natural features, but on all sides the eye is pleased and

¹ Chas. Smith, *The ancient and present state of the County and City of Cork*, vol. i, pp. 107-8. See also *The Barony of Imokilly*, Cork Archaeological Society Proceedings, 1945. The barony was the third most valuable in the county, being rated at £321 14s 6d, as against Cork city's rate of £358.

satisfied with colour and line, with far-stretching vistas of meadow and tilth. Here are green pastures, flocks and herds, wheat and oats in the season, plantations of fir crowning the low hills, and comfortable farmsteads down in the shelter among the trees as in an English countryside ; to the south, the open sea, and to the north in the far distance the long line of mountains. His widow, I know, once said that Berkeley never had any idea of Cloyne as a beautiful situation ; but she was proving a point, and meant that it was not the natural beauty of the place that kept him there ; perhaps indeed as they grew older, familiarity with the beauty of the district dulled their appreciation of it ; but in his first years there Berkeley had written to a travelled friend ¹ : " I would go about with you, and show you some scenes perhaps as beautiful as you have seen in all your travels. My own garden is not without its curiosity, having a number of myrtles, several of which are seven or eight feet high. They grow naturally, with no more trouble or art than goosberry bushes. This is literally true. Of this part of the world it may truly be said that it is

*Ver ubi longum, tepidasque praebet
Jupiter brumas."*

The barony contains many old castles, Castle Mary,² a mile west of Cloyne, the home of the Longfields, Rostellan Castle, overlooking Cork harbour, the seat of the Earl of Inchiquin, Castle Martyr, seat of a branch of the Fitzgeralds, Ballymaloe Castle, seat of Hugh Lumley, and those of Ightermuragh and Ballyrenane. Besides Youghal and Cloyne the only considerable places in the barony were Ballycotton, Aghada, and Ballymacoda, on the coast, and inland Castlemartyr, Ladysbridge, Killeagh, and Middleton.

Middleton (Middletown), midway between Cork and Youghal, possessed a corporation and two schools. In 1741, on the death of Canon Atkin, Robert Berkeley, the Bishop's brother, was appointed rector, and gave long and faithful service to the diocese (see above, p. 27). He lived at Ballynacorra on the road to Cloyne, and his seven children used to go over to the palace once a week to learn music and dancing from the masters resident there.³

¹ Sir John James, see Fraser, *LL*, p. 246. ² The original castle, now only a beautiful shell, was gutted by fire in recent times. The superb trees and shrubs of the estate well illustrate what Berkeley says of the luxuriant vegetation and semi-tropical growth in the Cloyne district. I saw there rhododendrons nearly as high as the castle, myrtle, berberis, acacia, and many another fine tree and shrub. ³ Eliza Berkeley, Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. ccccx.

Youghal was of importance as a port and seat of administration. Sir Walter Raleigh had lived there (his house is still shown), and there he introduced into the Old World the first cargo of potatoes. Its fine church, St. Mary's, is in the early pointed style of the thirteenth century; it fell into decay towards the end of the seventeenth century, and when John Wesley visited it in June 1765 he found half of it "in ruins." It is now in good repair. In 1464 it became a collegiate church ("Our Ladye's College of Yoghill"), and was served by a warden and fellows, twelve benefices in the diocese of Cloyne being assigned to its support. At the Reformation the college was suppressed, its income and patronage passing to Sir Richard Boyle. In Berkeley's day the wardenship was attached *in commendam* to the bishopric, and the old oak throne for the bishop is still shown there. Berkeley held an ordination there in September 1741, at which Mr. Daniel, schoolmaster of Charleville, and Mr. Atkin Hayman were made deacons, the latter for the curacy of Midleton.¹

The bishops formerly lived at an old castle in the centre of the town of Cloyne; but in 1700 Bishop Pooley rebuilt or repaired a neighbouring house, originally built by the Fitzgeralds, and transferred the episcopal residence to it. It became known as the see-house, or manse-house, and is now Cloyne House; it immediately adjoins the cathedral grounds, to which "the Bishop's walk" leading to a private door gives access. Bishop Crow in the early part of the eighteenth century added the north wing, which unfortunately was destroyed by fire on Christmas Day, 1887. The house was described in 1796 by Bishop Bennet as "a large irregular building, having been altered and improved by different bishops, but altogether a comfortable and handsome residence." In Bennet's time there was a garden of four acres and a farm of four hundred acres; the grounds contained pretty winding walks, one of them a quarter of a mile long, hedged with myrtles six feet high, which Berkeley planted.²

Here for eighteen years or so Berkeley lived a busy and (on the whole) a happy life. His health was not robust, and his letters often mention his ailments, as letters do; but he was not a chronic

¹ *Dublin Journal*, 26 September. The parochial list of curates of Midleton (which I saw at the rectory) records Hayman as curate 1745-53, George Berkeley 1761, and William Berkeley 1774. ² see Bennet's letter to Parr; Parr's *Works*, vol. vii, pp. 106-9. After the union of dioceses the see-house passed into private ownership. The present owner, Mr. Creed, showed me this year (1946) a myrtle, of which he takes great care, sheltering it from frost in the winter; it is, he told me, the only survivor of Berkeley's myrtle walk, and presumably it is the one which Fraser saw there in May 1870 (*LL*, p. 232n).

invalid. For some years he was unable to drive in comfort ; but he could walk, and there is no mention of any lengthy illness, incapacitating him from work. He had been an absentee dean, but he atoned as bishop, for he hardly ever left his diocese. He once went to Dublin to take his seat in the House of Lords, and he once spent a few days at Killarney ; but these are the only known absences till he went to Oxford six months before his death. Sedentary he became, but never inactive, and there was never a student who was less of a recluse. His activities radiating from the duties of his office and his domestic life, engaged him in relief work for the district, in work for the spiritual and economic welfare of Ireland, and in concern for the health and happiness of mankind. His house was a centre of hospitality ; there he cultivated learning, letters, and the arts. He expressed himself on several public questions in books, pamphlets, and letters to the press ; he continued to serve his *alma mater*, and concerned himself in her affairs. He kept up his old correspondence, and extended it. Now he writes, not only to the Earl of Egmont, but to his son Viscount Percival. His letters to Prior were frequent. One of the most interesting of his new correspondents was Isaac Gervais, a neighbouring clergyman, whose gay French wit evoked some of the happiest, lightest, and liveliest letters Berkeley ever wrote. He exchanged episcopal confidences with English bishops, with Gibson of London, Secker of Oxford, and Benson of Gloucester. Nor was America forgotten ; he corresponded regularly with Johnson, and with the heads of Harvard and Yale occasionally.

Stock's statement on his episcopal work is explicit and comprehensive, and no doubt it came from Dr. Robert Berkeley, the Bishop's right-hand man in diocesan affairs : " His Lordship repaired immediately to his manse-house at Cloyne, where he constantly resided (except one winter that he attended the business of Parliament in Dublin), and applied himself with vigour to the faithful discharge of all episcopal duties. He revived in his diocese the useful office of rural dean which had gone into disuse, visited frequently parochially, and confirmed in the several parts of his see." The occasional duties of his office included ordination, such as that he held in Youghal,¹ preaching, the disposal of patronage, perhaps the licensing of lay-readers, and the issuing of directions to his clergy on such subjects as their relations with dissenters and Roman Catholics, and on the liturgical use of the Irish language.

¹ see above, p. 172.

One of our earliest glimpses of Berkeley as a diocesan is in a letter of 7 October 1735 to the Earl of Egmont from William Taylor, his land agent at Charleville,¹ who writes : " I was lately at the Bishop of Cloyne's who, I am sorry to tell you, is much out of order ; he fears an ulcer in the kidney which debars him from using any exercise, but walking, he cannot even bear going in his coach. . . . He has had a great number of livings to dispose of. . . I write to him to-morrow, and send him the original of the inclosed letter from Mr. Purcell, about a Chappel of Ease at Kanturk." Berkeley wrote to Taylor two days later to the effect that he would welcome the building of a chapel at Kanturk, but did not see his way to endow it, that owing to his disorder he could not travel at the moment, but that he hoped to visit those parts in the spring and talk the matter over with Taylor.²

The disposal of patronage was not always an easy matter ; for instance in the summer of 1742 Viscount Percival asked for a benefice for a Mr. Brereton, no doubt a relative of Egmont's land agent of that name. Berkeley replies that he cannot do it ; but he was subsequently " better than my word," and bestowed the benefice of Kilbrin.³

His visitations⁴ were held annually at Cloyne. The social side of a country visitation is pleasantly illustrated by the following trifle which I found. On 1 September 1737 Berkeley writes to " Henry Eccles Esq. at Lismore or in his absence to the park-keeper " :

Sir,

As I hold my visitation next week I shall have occasion for a buck out of my Lord Burlington's park ; I must therefore use the privilege his Lordship has given me, and desire you'll please to order it to be sent on Monday next. . . .

For the more serious side his Primary Visitation Charge, preserved in the Berkeley Papers, should be read. It is concerned with measures for the conversion of Roman Catholics ; the Charge has an interesting reference to " the Protestant preachers in the Irish tongue," and desires those of his clergy who are sufficient masters of the language to use it in the attempt to win the native

¹ see *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 117, and *ib.*, vol. xli, c. 4, p. 147, for Berkeley's reply to Taylor. ² Apparently the chapel was built at Kanturk ; for W. M. Brady, *Records*, vol. ii, p. 241-42, says that there seems to have been some place of worship there in 1772, where the curate of Clonfert used to preach about one Sunday in four. He also records that between 1794 and 1798 a chapel was built there on a site granted by the Earl of Egmont, who contributed £50. Correspondents on the spot tell me that the site of an old church building is still to be seen near the post office. ³ see *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xli, c. 4, p. 151. ⁴ see above, p. 170.

Irish to the reformed faith. From his *Querist* we know that the Irish language question was much in his mind at this time, and that he wished parts of the liturgy to be publicly read in Irish. He placed a scheme to that end before the Bishop of London, who approved it in principle, but doubted whether the Roman priests would let their flocks listen to a Protestant service in Irish (9 July 1735). The Bishop probably heard a great deal about the language from his brother's predecessor at Midleton, the Rev. Canon W. Atkin, whose memorial tablet in the church states that though he was of an English family he applied himself sedulously to the "vernacular language," and used it with good success in both his public and private ministrations.

Berkeley's confirmations would have been held at centres of population such as Cloyne, Midleton, Youghal, and Charleville. An undated address by him on Confirmation, obviously read at the rite, is contained in the Berkeley Papers¹; it is a straightforward, unemotional statement on the relation of confirmation to baptism, and of the privileges and responsibilities involved. He recommends the office of lay-reader to Johnson in America²; but I have found no mention of it in connection with his own diocese.

Stock's statement that he *revived* in his diocese the office of rural dean has, no doubt, the authority of Dr. Robert Berkeley behind it, and it is to be accepted; but we must not read too much into the term *revived*. The office was established in Ireland at the synod of Kells in 1152 in place of the ancient *chorepiscopus*. As time went on the duties of the rural dean passed in large measure to the archdeacon, and the office at the Reformation fell more or less into abeyance. Bishop Palliser, writing from Cloyne on 12 December 1693 (Palliser MSS. Armagh Cathedral Library), says, "This diocese has been divided time out of mind into four rural deaneries," but he makes no return of them, and they were clearly not filled in his day. Sir James Ware (ed. Harris, 1764, vol. i, p. 573) says that there were formerly five rural deaneries in Cloyne, "but now there are but 4 viz. Castlelyons, Castletown, Bothon, and Muskery." Bishop Crow's Visitation Book (1720), which Berkeley must have handled, mentions the rural deaneries with their parishes, but names no rural deans. Berkeley of course did not originate the office or institute it in his diocese; but after consulting his friend Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, about it and following his example (*LL*, p. 287), he revived the ancient office

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 657.

² *ib.*, p. 241.

by operating the existing machinery, i.e. by the simple act of appointing rural deans to fill the posts long vacant.

In the autumn of 1737 Berkeley went up to Dublin for the meeting of Parliament. It was his last visit to the capital. On 2 November he was ceremonially introduced by the Bishop of Kildare¹ and by Robert Clayton, his old friend and colleague, now Bishop of Cork and Ross, and he took his seat on the Bench as one of the Lords Spiritual. The journals of the House record him as present frequently.² Stock says that he spoke but once, and that was on the subject of the Blasters, and that the speech was received with much applause.

The Blasters were the anti-God society of the day, and they caused some public concern for a time. Lecky identifies the Dublin Blasters with the Hell-Fire Club,³ whose club-house, or what time has left of it, a picturesque ruin save for the sturdy roof and walls, rests on the top of one of the Dublin mountains, like a Noah's Ark on Ararat. On 17 February 1738 the Lords' Committees on Religion were ordered to meet immediately and report on "the causes of the present notorious immorality and profaneness." The Report stated that "an uncommon scene of impiety and blasphemy appeared before them . . . that several loose and disorderly persons have of late erected themselves into a Society or Club under the name of Blasters, and have used means to draw into this impious society several of the youth of this kingdom."

Berkeley used both pen and tongue against them. While in Dublin he wrote and published his *A Discourse addressed to Magistrates and Men in authority*.⁴ Its general purpose is to convince office-holders that their concern is with opinion ("notions") as well as with actions. Of the Blasters he writes: "There cannot be a higher or more flagrant symptom of the madness of our times than that execrable fraternity of blasphemers lately set up within this city of Dublin. Blasphemy against God is a great crime against the state. . . . It is no common blasphemy I speak of. It is not simple cursing and swearing . . . but a train of studied, deliberate indignities against the divine Majesty." He calls on

¹ Charles Cobb. ² On November 9, 10, 14, 18, 21, 29; December 10, 23; January (1738) 3, 5; February 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28; March 3, 6, 10, 11, 18, 20, 22, 23. The session lasted from 3 October to 23 March. ³ Lecky, *History of Ireland in the eighteenth century*, vol. i, pp. 323-24; cf. Bishop Forster's letter to Berkeley of 20 February 1738 (Fraser, *LL*, p. 255). According to *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. *Wharton, Philip*, the Hell-Fire Club was suppressed by royal proclamation in 1721. ⁴ It was announced in the *Dublin Journal* for 21 March 1738; it was reprinted in the *Miscellany*, and there erroneously dated 1736.

"all persons in power, from the supreme executor of the law down to a petty constable . . . [to] behave themselves like men truly conscious and mindful that the authority they are clothed with is but a derivative ray from the supreme authority of heaven."

This tract is a fine piece of writing; it illustrates the wide sweep of Berkeley's thought, the incisiveness of his language, and (though it was published anonymously) the commanding position in Irish life he had now reached.

When in 1745 the Jacobite cause became a practical issue for the second time in Berkeley's life, he felt the responsibility of his office and took signal action. Prince Charlie was in England, and of course there was unrest in Ireland. The rapparees were "up" in Kilkenny, it was said, and there was fear of a general rising, as religious bitterness, political unrest, and social discontent came to a head. The soldier in Berkeley awoke¹; it was a matter of life and death; he raised a troop of horse at Cloyne, and bought muskets and equipment for them, and he wrote three letters to the *Dublin Journal* on military matters under the pseudonym *Eubulus*, and these were published respectively on 21 December 1745, and on the following 7 January and 8 February.²

About the same time he came before the public as a statesman. In the black autumn of the "'45," while the Chevalier after Prestonpans was keeping court at Holyrood, most of the Irish prelates addressed public pastorals to their flocks. Berkeley was singular in that he addressed two letters, one to his clergy and one to the Roman Catholics of his diocese, and both were published in the *Dublin Journal* of 19 October. The letter to the Roman Catholics was reprinted in the next issue, with the statement that there had been a great demand for it in both camps. It was reprinted in *An Impartial History of the life and death of James the Second* (1746) and in Berkeley's *Miscellany*. In the Egmont Papers I found the following reference to it in a letter dated 1 November 1745 from the Warden of Lohort Castle to Viscount Percival in London, "The Bishop of Cloyne's letter to the papists of his diocese is in every man's hands and by which they universally declare they are perfectly convinced."

The letter to his clergy bids them work and pray for "their common safety," reminding them that the work of the Reformation would be undone, if the rebellion succeeded, and that they would

¹ His father held military rank, and his brother William was serving in Scotland and held a distinguished command in Fifeshire; see above, p. 27. ² see *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii, 1933, p. 45ff.

lose their civil and religious liberties ; it declares that in 1715 the rebels inserted in their manifesto a clause securing the established Churches of England and Ireland, and that the Old Pretender with his own hand struck out that clause.

The letter to the Roman Catholics is a calculated appeal to prudence, memory, and experience. Let them remain quiet and await the event ; if the rebellion succeeds, many of them will lose fortunes and estates. In former days their rights in land, property, and privilege were considerable ; they had taken their share in the magistracy and the legislature, and had not been under religious disabilities ; they had lost those rights, relying on the false promises of France and Spain. Let them beware of making the same mistake again.

The religious issues permanently dividing Protestant from Roman Catholic have not, I think, been systematically treated in any of Berkeley's publications, but in a long private letter (or draft),¹ written in 1741 to his old friend, Sir John James, his mind on the controversy may be found. James shortly before his death wrote to tell Berkeley that he was thinking of joining the Church of Rome, and Berkeley writes to dissuade him ; he deals with many sides of the controversy, and, for the most part, in no narrow spirit. Against purgatory, indulgences, and the papal authority he appeals to Holy Scripture and the Fathers, sketching the gradual rise of the papal power. He examines the argument from miracles and discusses monasticism, image worship, the cult of saints and martyrs, and the confessional system. We ought not to set our affection unduly on any particular church. The term "Roman Catholic" is illogical, like "particular universal" ; the true Catholic or universal church is invisible. "As Plato thanked the gods that he was born an Athenian, so I think it a peculiar blessing to have been educated in the Church of England. My prayer, nevertheless, and trust in God is not that I shall live and die in this church, but in the true Church. For, after all, in respect of religion, our attachment should only be to the truth."

¹ Preserved in the Berkeley Papers, British Museum MS. 39306, p. 19 ; first published by J. S. M. Anderson in 1850 in his *Bishop Berkeley on the Roman Catholic Controversy*.

CHAPTER XII

DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE AT CLOYNE

THE "manse-house" at Cloyne, ringed with limes and elms, chestnut trees and copper beech, was Berkeley's home, as well as his palace, a happy, busy, beautiful, cultured home. Of its beauty and culture an observant visitor at the house¹ wrote : "His present Lordship has successfully transplanted the polite arts, which heretofore flourished only in a warmer soil, to this northern climate. Painting and musick are no longer strangers to Ireland, nor confined to Italy. In the episcopal palace at Cloyne the eye is entertained with a great variety of good paintings, as well as the ear with concerts of excellent musick. There are here some picces of the best masters, as a Magdalen of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, some heads by Van Dyck and Kneller, besides several good paintings performed in the house, an example so happy that it has diffused itself into the adjacent gentlemen's houses, and there is at present a pleasant emulation raised in this country, to vie with each other in these kind of performances." Of the paintings and painting lessons, of the music and concerts, and of the cultivation of the fine arts in general there is ample evidence in the letters. Prior lends paintings ; Gervais procures viol and violin ; seventy guineas is paid for a harpsichord ; "we are musically mad"² ; the Italian musician, Pasquilino, whom Berkeley met at a concert at Percival's house in London on 9 February 1733 (Rand, *B&P*, p. 288), and whose name often occurs in the Dublin newspapers of the day as a star in the musical world, resided in the palace for four years, teaching the children music at £200 a year. Pasquilino is mentioned in Prior's *Authentic Narrative* (p. 123) as having received benefit from tar-water. His English idiom was far from perfect, and the dictionary betrayed him into the following amusing mistake. One day the Bishop at table made him a compliment on his success at a local

¹ Chas. Smith, *The antient and present state of the County and City of Cork*, Dublin, 1750, vol. i, p. 146. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 289. Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, pp. clxxii, ccccxii.

concert. The Italian replied with a bow, May God pickle (preserve) your Lordship. A music master and a painter accompanied the party on the trip to Killarney narrated below (p. 212). The useful arts, too, were encouraged and promoted at Cloyne, if not in the palace itself.

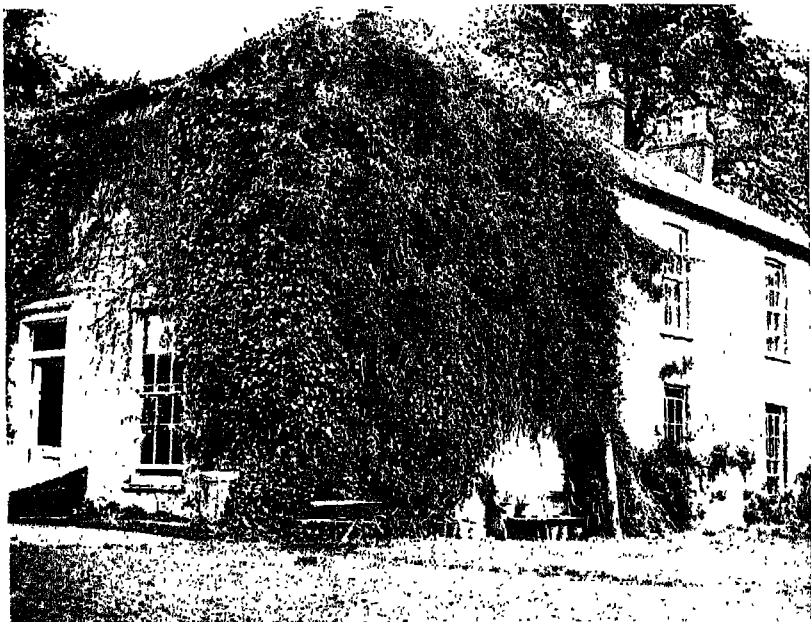
Berkeley loved art, but he was no aesthete; his tastes were simple, and he ranked high the simple joys of family life. When declining to take steps to secure the Primacy, he tells Prior: "I am not in love with feasts and crowds and visits and late hours and strange faces and a hurry of affairs often insignificant."¹ He recommends to his friends the comforts and solace of domestic life, "that natural refuge from solitude and years,"² and in the same letter he writes: "You will find me with a wife, three sons, and a daughter of star-like beauty—rejoicing literally under our fig-trees."

His wife Anne, often mentioned in his letters, but never characterized, has remained a shadowy figure in the biographies; but she deserves more notice than she has till now received; and when one pieces together what is said of her during the twenty-five years of her married life and her longer widowhood, a picture of a remarkable person results (see above, p. 112). Her tastes were homely and simple, but she was the great lady with the fine manner. A pious mystic, she possessed practical ability. Of Irish family, she was educated in France, and could speak and write French. A cultured scholar, fond of books, she could manage a large farm, and direct extensive relief works. Berkeley writes of her: "She is become a great farmer of late. In these hard times we employ above a hundred men every day in agriculture of one kind or another; all which my wife directs. . . . My wife finds in it a fund of health and spirits, beyond all the fashionable amusements in the world."³ Strong-minded and tender-hearted, she could discuss her husband's metaphysics, and she wept at the news of the death of a casual acquaintance.⁴ She could sing, draw, and paint. Her portrait of her husband won from him the compliment, "I think she shows a most uncommon genius."⁵ She could think clearly and write forcibly. The *Maxims concerning Patriotism* were republished in the *Miscellany*, and we must accept them as substantially the Bishop's; but Mrs. Berkeley

¹ 17 February 1747; Fraser, *LL*, p. 313. ² *ib.*, p. 268. ³ *ib.*, p. 279. ⁴ *ib.*, p. 305; cf. pp. 289, 308. ⁵ Stock, vol. i, p. lxxxiv; Fraser, *LL*, p. 308. The portrait was painted and presented to Prior in 1746, and passed into the possession of the Rev. Mervyn Archdale, see below, p. 247.



GEORGE BERKELEY AS BISHOP OF CLOYNE
from the portrait by or after Vanderbank in the Regent House, Trinity College, Dublin
(*Appendix IV, No. 7*)



THE SEE-HOUSE, CLÓYNE
now in private ownership

had clearly played her part in the production, and deserves a share of the credit ; for on the original title-page are the words, BY A LADY.¹ It was a very happy marriage, a union of hearts and minds. They had religion, philosophy, philanthropy, and art in common. She shared in his friendships and in his mission to America, and her voice was with him as he passed into the unknown. She cherished his memory and defended his philosophy in public long after his death.²

Some time after her husband's death she wrote a long letter, still extant,³ to her son, George, who appears to have asked, Why did father not leave us better off? The letter is little known, and it pays such a rare tribute to the Bishop's character and personality (and, indirectly, to her own), and gives such a vivid and intimate picture of the home life that I may be pardoned for quoting extensively from it. No sketch of the life at Cloyne would be complete without it :

"The slight reflection you made on your dear father and my dear husband carried me back many years. . . . How carefully was your infancy protected by your dear father's skill and mother's care. You were not, for our ease, trusted to mercenary hands ; in childhood you were instructed by your father—he though old and sickly, performed the constant tedious task himself, and would not trust it to another's care. You were his business and his pleasure. . . . He never raised your vanity, or your love for vanity, by prizing or mentioning the vanities of life (unless with the derision they deserve)—which we have all renounced in baptism—before you, such are titles, finery, fashion, money, fame. His own temperance in regard to wine was a better lesson to you than forbidding it would have been. He made home pleasant by a variety of employments, conversation, and company ; his instructive conversation was delicate, and when he spoke directly of religion (which was seldom) he did it in so masterly a manner, that it made a deep and lasting impression. You never heard him give his tongue the liberty of speaking evil. Never did he reveal the fault or secret of a friend. Most people are tempted to detraction by envy, barrenness of conversation, spite, and ill-will. But as he saw no one his superior, or perhaps his equal, how could he envy any one? Besides, an universal knowledge of men, things, and books prevented the greatest wit of his age from being at a loss for subjects of conversation ; but had he been as dull as he was bright, his conscience and good nature would have kept close the door of his lips rather than to have opened them to vilify or lessen his brother. He was also pure in heart and speech ; no wit could season any kind of dirt to him, not even Swift's. Now he was not born to all this, no

¹ No doubt the maxims were in large part table talk between them taken down and edited by her. ² see *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd ed., vol. iii, Corrigenda and Addenda. Her "Resolutions," recorded by her at the end of the Chapman MS. (Trinity College, Dublin) under date 4 April 1754, include "This year drink Tar Water twice a day." ³ Berkeley Papers, MS. 39312, p. 227ff ; published in part by Fraser, *LL*, p. 357.

more than others are, but in his own words, his industry was greater ; he struck a light at twelve to rise and study and pray, for he was very pious ; and his studies were no barren speculations, for he loved God and man, silenced and confuted atheists, disguised as mathematicians and fine gentlemen. . . . Humility, tenderness, patience, generosity, charity to men's souls and bodies, was the sole end of all his projects, and the business of his life. In particular I never saw so tender and amiable a father, or so patient and industrious a one. . . . Exactness and care (in which consists economy) was the treasury on which he drew for charity, generosity, munificence. . . ."

Comment on this lovely tribute from one so close is unnecessary, and would be almost an intrusion. It translates into homely detail Pope's general and more famous tribute, which looks extravagant and yet rings true : To Berkeley ev'ry virtue under heav'n. Many of its statements could be confirmed from other sources, and it gives a full, clear picture of the domestic life at Cloyne. Mrs. Eliza Berkeley often mentions his supervision of his children's education. From her Preface (pp. ccxliv, cccxciv) we learn that at one time the Bishop paid £400 per annum to different masters to instruct his children in music, painting, fencing, riding, and French ; but that the Latin and Greek he entrusted to no one but himself. Young George, she says, one day importuned to be allowed to accompany his father on a distant visitation, and was told that he could, if he wrote eight Latin verses. He produced them, and the Bishop said : " Well, George, you have been too many for me ; I did not think it possible you could have done it ; but as you have done it, I must keep my word, and you must go."

When they came to Cloyne the family consisted of two sons, Henry, born in America, now five years old, and George, born in London, ten months old. Four children were born at Cloyne, John and Sarah, who both died in infancy, and William and Julia. Of the four children whose education the Bishop supervised, three survived him, Henry, George, and Julia, and the death of William, a particularly gay and promising lad, in his sixteenth year in 1751 was said by Stock " to have stuck too close to his father's heart." He speaks with pride and affection of all his children. Their neighbours compliment them on Henry¹ ; of George he writes, " Your godson exceeds my hopes. I wish I had twenty [like] George."² Julia is " such a daughter ! so bright a little gem."³ And William is " a little friend, educated always under mine own eye, whose painting delighted me, whose

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 255.

² Fraser, *LL*, p. 268.

³ *ib.*, p. 267.

music ravished me, and whose lively gay spirit was a continual feast." ¹

Julia is little more than a name to us ; she accompanied her parents to Oxford, and was with her father at his end. We hear of her with her mother at Cuddesdon in the summer of 1753 (*LL*, p. 354) and in Dublin in 1755-56. Her health then was not good. ²

Of Henry, too, the eldest, we know very little. He was evidently intended for Oxford when in 1746 illness delayed the scheme, probably for good. He spent two years in the south of France for his health, and was there when his father died ; he returned in the autumn of 1753 to Dublin with health improved. He was in Dublin with his mother and sister in 1755-56 ; it is said that he died in Queen's County. ³ His father's papers appear to have passed through his hands, for on p. 27 of MS. 39306 (Brit. Mus.) is written, "Preached at Leghorne, Brother Henry Berkeley." Curiously, too, in the same MS., c. p. 218, occur the words, "Hen. Berkeley, ex Aede Christi. Episcopi Clonensis Fil." This looks as if he entered at Christ Church like his brother George, but after a search of the records, kindly made by the dean, no trace of his entry has been found.

George, the second son, was the only child to prolong the line. ⁴ In 1752 he entered Christ Church, Oxford, where he proved himself a young man of expensive tastes, who kept horses and entertained. He met Dr. Johnson at Oxford, so his widow records ; Dr. Johnson made fun of the Bermuda project, and George made his excuses and walked out of the room ; and subsequently refused Johnson's repeated requests for permission to write a Life of the Bishop. A member of the party remonstrated with Dr. Johnson, who replied, "Why, I think the Bishop's scheme no bad one ; but I abused it to take down the young gentleman, lest he should be too vain of having had such a father." ⁵ George's signature as B.A. occurs in one of the notebooks composing his

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 325. This letter, "the overflowings of my soul," to Bishop Benson is quoted at length below, p. 208. A year later "the wound is still opening and bleeding afresh" (*ib.*, p. 332). See also the accounts of the death and the funeral by Mrs. Eliza Berkeley, Pref. Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. cccxxxvii. For list of the children see Appendix I. ² see the *Yale University Library Gazette*, July 1933, p. 32 ; she died unmarried, and (*ib.*, p. 33) she was evidently not with her mother in 1780. ³ Fraser, *LL*, pp. 303, 311 ; E. E. Beardsley, *Samuel Johnson* (1874), p. 175 ; *Yale University Library Gazette*, July 1933, p. 32 ; Brady, *Records*, vol. iii, p. 119. ⁴ There is an account of his career in *General Biographical Dictionary* (Chalmers' edition, vol. v, p. 64). See also his widow's Preface to their son's (Monck Berkeley) *Poems* ; and a Memoir by Archdeacon Rose (Fraser, *LL*, pp. 356-61). ⁵ Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, pp. ccl-ccliii.

father's *Philosophical Commentaries*. He was ordained deacon, apparently, on Trinity Sunday, 1756,¹ and he took his M.A. on 26 January 1759, and the LL.D. in 1768. He was appointed Vicar of East Garston, and for a time was Vicar of Bray; he held various other benefices, and became Canon of Canterbury. Amongst his publications was a sermon, preached in 1785, on *The danger of Violent Innovations in the State . . .*, which went through six editions. He kept up the family connection with the Johnsons in America, and helped to persuade the Scottish bishops to consecrate Bishop Seabury for that country—an event which brought the episcopate to America and achieved one of the subordinate ends of the Bermuda project. In 1761 Dr. Berkeley married Eliza Frinsham, grand-daughter of Francis Cherry; they had four children, two daughters who died in infancy, and two sons, George Robert, who died young in 1775, and George Monck, who died in 1793. Monck Berkeley, educated at Eton, Oxford, and St. Andrews, was a writer of promise, who received the degree of LL.B. from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1788. His *Literary Relics* is a source of our knowledge of the Berkeley-Prior correspondence. In 1797 his mother published in quarto some of his poems, contributing an enormous Preface (630 pages), which contains fact and gossip (a good deal about her father-in-law) so blended that to separate wheat from chaff is no easy matter.²

Of the episcopal palace at Cork we read little in Berkeley's correspondence; for the first twelve months of Berkeley's time at Cloyne, it was occupied by Peter Browne, his old provost, with whom he had crossed swords in philosophy and theology; for the following ten years Robert Clayton was there. Clayton, his colleague in Trinity College, and his associate in the Bermuda project,³ introduced him when he took his seat in the House of Lords. Clayton in later life came under suspicion of unorthodoxy, and whether the friendship was clouded thereby we do not know; but if the much-discussed *Essay on Spirit* (1750) is by Clayton, it points to a breach; for its opening comments on Berkeley's philosophy are neither friendly nor true.⁴ From 1745 to 1772 Jemmett Browne was Bishop of Cork; he and his family were on the best of terms with the Berkeleys. He undertook the Cloyne Confirmations during Berkeley's absence at

¹ *Yale University Library Gazette*, July 1933, p. 32. ² see my Introduction, p. 9.
³ see above, p. 136 and p. 141. ⁴ Clayton was Bishop of Killala, 1730; Bishop of Cork and Ross, 1735; and Bishop of Clogher, 1745; accused of heresy (Arianism), he died on the eve of the trial in 1758.

Oxford, and in a very friendly letter¹ he places himself at Berkeley's disposal for any other duties.

Among friends and visitors at the "manse-house" were the Inchiquins and Shannons,² the Longfields of Castle Mary, the Lumleys of Ballymaloe, and the Maules, relatives of a former Bishop of Cloyne—the three families last named furnishing most of the god-parents for the Bishop's children. A good picture of a young man's life in the district (and the elders would take their part) can be gained from the diary for 1773 kept by the Rev. William Berkeley, Curate of Midleton, the Bishop's nephew.³ Apart from ecclesiastical duties, there were shooting, sailing, hunting, concerts, tea and dinner parties; there were visits to Lismore, Cork, Blarney, Glanmire, Castle Martyr, Castle Mary, and Cobh. Recurring names are Lord and Lady Inchiquin, Lord and Lady Shannon, Mockler, Hayman, Bushe, Lumley, Rugge, and Uniacke.

At one time there seem to have been concerts at the palace almost every evening, as a counter attraction to cards, which Berkeley disliked and despised. Sir Richard Cox of Dunmanaway was an occasional visitor. Viscount Percival, now Member of Parliament, more than once visited Cloyne⁴ on his way to the Egmont estates near Mallow; and in July 1742 Berkeley is to send his coachman and postilion with horses to Lohort Castle to bring the viscount and his lady to Cloyne, where they would stay before taking ship for England, "which may take you up within two miles of Cloyne."⁵ Dean Swift is said to have visited Berkeley at Cloyne, and he may well have done so⁶ when he went to Cork to receive the freedom of the city. In 1746 Berkeley received visits from Baron Mountnay, Baron of the Exchequer (1741-68), and from the Rev. Peter Bristow, Vicar-choral of Cork. His brother William,⁷ the soldier, seems to have paid him a visit

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 340. ² Mentioned in the Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. cccxi. ³ see Fraser, *LL*, p. 282n. ⁴ *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xli, c. 4, pp. 149, 151.

⁵ i.e. at the little harbour of Rostellan which looks across the bay to Cobh. ⁶ C. B. Gibson, *History of Cork*, vol. ii, p. 445. ⁷ Eliza Berkeley calls him "a most excellent officer," says that he was in command in Fife in 1745, and was remembered there for his humanity long after; and her son, Monck, was often asked if he was related (Preface, p. cccxviii). She speaks (p. ccv) of another brother (could he have been Thomas?), who eloped with a lady of family and "utterly refused to marry her, and many, many years afterwards, when he went to visit him at Cloyne, the Bishop absolutely refused to see him, although he was then what the world calls a worthy man, but during his two or three days' visit there, dined . . . in the library by himself . . . saying, 'He is a genuine scoundrel. I trust God will forgive him upon his repentance; but I will never see him while I breathe.'"

in 1751; business visits, too, from the Earl of Egmont's land agents, Messrs. Taylor, Purcell, and Brereton were of frequent occurrence. A scholar is not necessarily a hermit, and Fraser's picture of Berkeley as "the recluse of Cloyne" may be dismissed as a caricature.

Two visitors of special note must now be mentioned, his old friend, Thomas Prior, and his new friend Isaac Gervais. To both of them Berkeleians are specially indebted because they troubled to keep Berkeley's letters to them. The letters to Prior are not the best that Berkeley wrote; in fact many of them are dull and matter-of-fact; but the Prior collection has been ever since 1784 the backbone of all serious biography of Berkeley. Of Prior himself and his importance in Berkeley's life I speak below (p. 210); here I will only say that he had estates in the county of Limerick, and seems to have combined an annual visit to them with an annual visit to Cloyne.¹ I give an account below of the trip to Killarney in which he took part, and from his *Authentick Narrative* (p. 111) we see that he was at Cloyne in September 1745, and interviewed townsfolk there who had benefited by tar-water.

A nearer neighbour, a more frequent visitor, and a correspondent who contributed much to Berkeley's cheer and gaiety was Isaac Gervais. Born at Montpelier, *c.* 1680, he was brought from France in childhood at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He became Vicar-choral of Lismore Cathedral in 1708, and prebendary there in 1723; appointed Dean of Tuam in May 1743, he died in February 1756, and was buried at Lismore. He, too, was a convert to tar-water, who gives his testimony in the *Authentick Narrative* (p. 67). In 1738 Berkeley writes to him: "You give so much pleasure to others, and are so easily pleased yourself, that I shall live in hopes of your making my house your inn whenever you visit these parts."

The brightest and lightest of Berkeley's letters go to Gervais, who like Berkeley himself had a quick wit and kindly spirit. Berkeley hopes "to see you and the sun returned together." "A bird of the air has told me that your reverence is to be Dean of Tuam; no nightingale could have sung a more pleasing song." "Your letters are so much tissue of gold and silver. . . . We want a little of your foreign fire to raise our Irish spirits in this heavy season. . . . We will chop politics together, sing Io Paean

¹ "We all expect you and think we have an annual right in you." Fraser, *LL*, p. 266; see also pp. 263, 308, 315.

to the Duke, revile the Dutch, admire the King of Sardinia, and applaud the Earl of Chesterfield." ¹

A curious visitor to Cloyne, perhaps the last visitor that Berkeley received there, was the "Irish giant," whose skeleton is in the museum of Trinity College. He stayed a month with the Bishop just before the latter sailed for England. Here is the report taken from the *Dublin Journal* for 28 July 1752: "Cork, July 24th. There is now in this city one Cornelius Magrath, a boy of 15 years 11 months old, of a most gigantick stature, being exactly 7 feet 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, he is clumsy made, talks boyish and simple; he came hither from Youghal, where he has been a year going into the salt water for rheumatic pains which almost crippled him which the physicians now say were growing pains; for he is grown to the monstrous size he is of within these twelve months. He was a month at the Bishop of Cloyne's who took great care of him. . . ."

Old age brought no narrowness. Berkeley's interest in English politics and foreign affairs remained with him, and shows in his letters by which he kept in touch with men and things on both sides of the Atlantic. Besides his regular correspondents, Prior, Egmont, and Gervais should be mentioned, the Vice-Provost and the Bursar of Trinity College, Dublin, the Bishops of London, Gloucester, and Bristol, several Irish bishops, especially Bishop Syngé, Sir John James, Mr. Dalton, Drs. Fothergill and Hales, and in America Messrs. Johnson, Clap, Wadsworth, and Smibert. Nor did he lose his interest in physical phenomena. In youth he had explored the cave of Dunmore; in early manhood he stood for an hour looking down into the crater of Vesuvius in eruption, and his scientific curiosity remained with him. He refused indeed to become a member of Simon's "Historico-Physical Society," which for some years figures in the cultural circles of Dublin, but he was proposed for membership and desired as a member, and he shows his interest in the doings of the society. In two letters he discusses with Prior the causes of change in wind and weather, sending him in 1746 a paper on petrification, which contains his own observations in Sicily and elsewhere, bearing on Simon's observations about Lough Neagh. From the Dublin Society this paper went on to the Royal Society, and was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* (No. 480). About the same time Berkeley wrote a letter on earthquakes, signed A. B., which appeared in

¹ Fraser, *LL*, pp. 283, 289, 304; it is sad that no letters from Gervais survive.

the *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ along with a reprint of his letter to Dr. Arbuthnot on the eruption of Vesuvius. He describes his experience of the earthquake at Messina in 1718, and reports what Count Tezzani had told him at Catania of the great earthquake there in 1692.

Berkeley is often pictured as a crank or mystic, solely interested in things of the mind, and even asserting that nothing is, but mind. How false that picture is ! How utterly untrue to fact ! He writes on meteorology, on volcano, and on earthquake, and observes before he writes. In his day the clean cut between philosophy and science was not known, and would have been scorned on the ground that truth is truth. But in the language of to-day Berkeley was both philosopher and scientist ; he approved the method of science and accepted the scientific object ; and those who confuse his denial of material substance with pan-psychism have never properly considered what material substance purports to be.

¹ vol. xx, p. 166, April 1750. See above, p. 78.

CHAPTER XIII

IRISH INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC HEALTH

WE pass on from the home to the farm and the workshop, from the oratory, if I may so say, to the laboratory. Neither his episcopal duties, nor the domestic and social round monopolized Berkeley's time ; nothing could narrow his horizon. Buildings of very varied types, representing very varied activities, clustered close, as they still do, at the Round Tower of Cloyne. The cathedral, the bishop's palace, shops, and cottages—there they are, in a small compass, symbolizing a wider field. They all were his concern and interest, and the manifold needs of Cloyne, spiritual and physical, were for Berkeley an epitome and focus of the needs of Ireland.

He set up a spinning-school at Cloyne for the children, and a house of work for sturdy vagrants ; he provided winter relief and employment on a large scale ; he sowed hemp ; he sowed flax ; he encouraged home-spun ; his sons might employ a Cork tailor, but he wore Cloyne-made clothes and Cloyne-made wigs ; he fostered the fine arts ; he planted myrtles, one of which remains to this day. He drew off an infusion of tar, and made a medicine. He took up his pen and wrote the *Querist* and the *Siris*. All these varied activities must be taken together and kept together, and projected on a national scale, if we are to understand Berkeley and measure his episcopate aright. They sprang from a social creed which was part of a widespread and much-needed movement for an improvement of the conditions of Irish life ; they were phases of an economic nationalism that was temperate and reasoned, but organized and determined.

If Berkeley is pictured as a lone philanthropist, a quack, a dabbler in welfare work, inspired by " holy enthusiasms " (Fraser's term), saddened by the misery at his doors and impulsively relieving distress, his practical activities at Cloyne invite criticism and provoke a smile. They are out of keeping with lawn sleeves,

gaiters, and shovel hat ; they are not what we expect from a prelate of the Established Church. But Berkeley did not go to Cloyne to be the traditional prelate, or a government agent ; he did not go solely to say his prayers and lay on hands. He performed faithfully the sacred duties of his high office, and he was loyal to the Crown ; but like other great diocesans he went to his diocese to discharge the full duty of a broad-minded, far-seeing citizen. He was a bishop in his shirt sleeves. He expected to be censured "for meddling out of my profession," and he had his answer ready, viz. "To feed the hungry and clothe the naked by promoting an honest industry [is] no improper employment for a clergyman who still thinks himself a member of the commonwealth."¹

Don't make Berkeley a bishop, said Lord Wilmington, he is "very great with Dean Swift."² Rightly or wrongly, Berkeley had the name of being close friends with the man who petulantly cried, Burn everything British except their men and their coal, and who from St. Patrick's Deanery, in all seriousness and sincerity, with the need for the counsel staring him in the face at the very gates of his deanery, counselled the Irish people : "By the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your own country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England."³ Preaching self-reliance and economic independence he wrote, "I have indeed seen the present Archbishop of Dublin clad from head to foot in our own manufacture," and in his *Maxims Controlled* . . . (1724) he sounds a grimmer note in his words, "I confess myself to be touched with a very sensible pleasure when I hear of a mortality in any country parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth."⁴

The nationalist movement was not intrinsically separatist or radically anti-British ; it was, as conceived by Swift and Berkeley, constitutional and constructive within the law ; but it was definitely directed against the unenlightened policy of viceroys and commercial magnates to whom Irish government meant keeping "poor Ireland" poor. The movement was considerably older than Swift's conversion to it. It went back at least to William

¹ The *Querist*, *Advertisement*. ² Rand, *B&P*, p. 287. ³ Swift, *Drapier Letters*, iv ; see also his *A Proposal for the universal use of Irish Manufacture* (1720), p. 6, where he says he has heard the late Archbishop of Tuam mention the pleasant observation of, "Ireland would never be happy till a law were made for burning every thing that came from England except their people and their coals." ⁴ Swift's *Works*, by Temple Scott, vol. vii, p. 70.

Molyneux. We can detect it in the early correspondence between Berkeley and Percival (*B&P*, pp. 91, 97), in their discussion of the Irish book trade, and in Percival's opposition to the tax on Irish yarn. It had the support of many loyal Protestants, who saw the evils of Castle government and its entail in human misery among a rapidly expanding population. The population of Ireland rose in the eighteenth century from one and a half millions to four millions,¹ and that fact gave urgency to the social creed of Swift and Berkeley.

Berkeley's special friends in the movement were Thomas Prior, Samuel Madden, and George Faulkner, all of whom were prominent in the Dublin Society; but of course there were other eminent men and other societies in Dublin with similar aims. Faulkner as printer and publisher of the *Dublin Journal* was specially the voice of the movement. The Earl of Chesterfield, his friend and correspondent, alluding to Faulkner's influence with the Lords Lieutenant, speaks jestingly of his governing the governors of Ireland. Faulkner was devoted to Swift, and the fine bust of Swift, now in St. Patrick's Cathedral, was made to Faulkner's order and was the chief ornament of his bookshop in Parliament Street, looking out on Essex Bridge.

They were not politicians; they did not preach disloyalty nor attack the government. They took those things as they found them and devoted themselves to the public interest and welfare, aiming especially at educating the farmers in farming, and the industrialists in industry, but not neglecting *morale* and the fine arts and sciences. One must read the articles and advertisements in the *Dublin Journal* for the late thirties and the forties, to get the background of the *Querist*, and capture the spirit in which the author's daily life at Cloyne was lived. There are articles on flax, on flax-seed, on the various processes of linen manufacture, and on "the further improvement of husbandry and the useful arts"; and there are the long lists of premiums for all sorts of things offered by Madden in his own name and that of the Society.

These men accepted the ban on the Irish wool trade, without approving it; to accept it was, at the time, the only course, and they told the farmers there were other roads to wealth, advocating flax and hemp and tillage as an off-set to wool. Berkeley himself went into questions of high finance, and pondered the very nature of wealth, moving in regions of thought beyond the

¹ G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, p. 372n.

reach of Prior and Madden and the economists of that day, and he announced conclusions, accepted to-day, about money and credit in direct opposition to the then prevailing mercantilism.

Medieval notions of banking which confused it with usury were passing away ; and as early as 1721 Berkeley and Percival are discussing the question of an Irish bank. Percival has written an article on the subject which Berkeley read and commended (*B&P*, pp. 181-85). There is a paper by Percival in the Egmont Papers (vol. 65, pp. 159-70) headed, *Some Thoughts touching an Irish Bank*, and it should be compared with an article in the *Dublin Journal* for 19 November 1737 entitled, "The Phoenix or A new scheme for establishing credit upon the most solid and satisfactory foundation, and intirely free from all the objections made to the former intended bank." Berkeley's views on the national bank are to be found in the *Querist* ; he discusses them with Prior in letters of 1737, and in March of that year he wrote an open letter on the subject to the *Dublin Journal*, addressing it to "A. B. Esq.," and signing it "The Querist."

Berkeley was not then ploughing a lonely furrow. His books and pamphlets from Cloyne, the glebe farm, the spinning school and house of work were extensions of the work of Prior and Madden and the Dublin societies, part of the movement towards national betterment and economic independence, to which Swift had given a tremendous impetus. Berkeley went into it at once ; within a year of his consecration he published a part of his economic manifesto, and almost at once he must have begun those social experiments at Cloyne of which he speaks so well in 1737. "Our spinning school is in a thriving way. The children begin to find a pleasure in being paid in hard money. . . . I am building a workhouse for sturdy vagrants, and design to raise about two acres of hemp for employing them. Can you put me in a way of getting hemp seed ; or does your Society distribute any ? It is hoped your flax seed will come in time."¹ He and Prior and Madden, and later Chesterfield, had wide and lofty aims ; they fostered the fine arts, as well as the useful arts and crafts ; they encouraged agriculture and manufacture in many branches ; they encouraged painting, and sculpture, and as one of their advertisements shows, they encouraged the impalpable "spirit of invention and improvement." Their articles, for instance, on flax growing and linen manufacture were detailed and definite.

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 248.

Width and precision characterized Berkeley's knowledge and outlook. First-hand evidence comes from a friend of the Bermuda days, Thomas Blackwell,¹ who wrote of him in 1755 : " An inclination to carry me out on that expedition, as one of the young professors on his new foundation, having brought us often together, I scarce remember to have conversed with him on *that art*, liberal or mechanic, of which he knew not more than the ordinary practitioners. With the widest views he descended into minute detail, and begrudged neither pains nor expence for the means of information. He travelled through a great part of Sicily on foot, clambered over the mountains and crept into the caverns to investigate into its natural history, and discover the causes of its volcanoes ; and I have known him sit for hours in forges and founderies to inspect their successive operations."

The same width and precision marked the work of the Dublin Society. Their premiums for merit were offered in every conceivable branch of human activity from academic learning to dairy farming, and the making of hats. Madden instituted a system of premiums in Trinity College which grew into the present Prize and Honor system. Berkeley instituted and endowed the historic Gold Medal for Greek which bears his name. Lord Chesterfield promoted crafts and industries, and advocated the fine arts as an aid to self-respect and uplift. The music and painting at Cloyne, as well as the hemp and flax, were thus parts of a comprehensive scheme for the betterment of the country. Madden had spiritual and moral ends in view, as well as economic when he entitled his book *Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland as to their conduct for the service of their country* (1738).²

The Querist was published anonymously in Dublin in three parts, Part I (not originally so marked) in 1735, containing Nos. 1-317 ; Part II in 1736, containing Nos. 1-254 ; and Part III in 1737, containing Nos. 1-324. Each part was seen

¹ *Memoirs of the Court of Augustus*, vol. 2, p. 277. ² A Dublin reprint of this book in 1816 adds an interesting Preface, which speaks of the " uncommon rarity " of the work, quotes Dr. Johnson as saying of Madden, " His was a name Ireland ought to honour," and summarizes Madden's work for Ireland : he offered premiums, for learning in Trinity College, for the best invention in any useful art or manufacture, for the best statue or piece of sculpture, for the best historical or landscape painting, for flowered silks, paduasoy, and velvet, for the most hops planted and most fish caught and cured, for the best imitation of Brussels, Mechlin, and Dresden lace, for needlework in shades, for tapestry, for the extraction of salt from salt water, for drawings by boys or girls under 16, for sculpture in metal or stone, and the best invention in arts or husbandry.

through the press by Dr. Madden.¹ A second edition of the whole in shortened form appeared in 1750, and went through several editions, and was reprinted in the *Miscellany*. The work gave Berkeley a position, which he has never lost, in Irish politics and among political economists. It was a pioneer contribution to the theory of money and credit, which has been very influential as such, and which has a direct application to the needs of Ireland, past and present.

The *Querist*, as is intended by the query form, makes a man think on public questions without laying down answers dogmatically. In many parts it is a sharp criticism of Irish character and English policy, chastising native indolence and foreign greed as greater evils than Castle government. On the whole it is fair-minded, holding the balance between Protestant settler and Roman Catholic, between the gentry and the people, between fine arts and useful crafts, and between economic theory and practical application. It determines the source and nature of wealth, and the symbolic character of money, and is insistent that a national bank should be established and small coin circulated. It holds the balance between body and soul; the peasants are to eat beef, to wear shoes, and to lose their cynical contentment with a low standard of living. Berkeley preaches no red revolution, though he asks, Are peers and gentlemen *born* legislators? He wants them to *learn* to govern. He wants ladies to give up French silks and Flanders lace, to foster home industries and wear homespun. He wants gentlemen to give up claret, and drink home-brewed ale and cider; they should put fine houses before fine clothes; a country squire who employs well, who keeps roads in repair and rivers navigable, is better than "an insignificant santerer about town." England ought not to thrive at Ireland's expense; the common good must not be sacrificed to sectional interest. The ban on the woollen trade is bad; any restraints on trade are bad for both countries. Ireland must make the best of these bad things. Let her turn to linen and hemp and lace, to carpets and tapestry; Berkeley preaches the gospel of self-help and self-sufficiency, and in every one of these 595 queries

¹ The "editor," see Berkeley's letter to Prior of 5 March 1737, where he orders copies of each part to be stitched together to form a pamphlet. Part I is advertised as "just published" in the *Dublin Evening Post*, 9 December 1735. For further detail about the complex relations between the different parts and editions of the *Querist* and an account of Berkeley's manuscript, "The Irish patriot or queries upon queries," published by J. M. Hone in *Times Lit. Supp.*, 13 March 1930, see Jessop's *Bibliography*, pp. 15-17.

he is in effect asking his still unanswered question, Whose fault is it, if poor Ireland still continues poor?

The *Querist* has been an influential work, and though its *raison d'être* has in large measure disappeared, politicians and patriots, not to say economists, feel its tantalizing, elusive attraction still. Chief Secretary, Lord Balfour, who had, more than most, a personal and official interest in the matter of the *Querist*, has paid a remarkable tribute to its form: "Of all the mass of literature which has been devoted to the distresses of that distressful country, this is probably the most original. Its form alone would seem to distinguish it from every other production of a similar kind. It consists of 595 interrogatories, averaging three or four lines in length, and entirely without connecting passages. Sustained eloquence under these conditions is clearly out of the question. It is difficult to understand by what literary arts such a production can even be made readable. Yet readable it certainly is; and not only readable, but impressive."¹

Why is the *Querist* so attractive still? It is tempting to try to answer the question which Balfour raised and left almost unanswered. The chief reason is the variety the query form admits in a master's hands. The queries almost all begin with *Whether*; but such differences in tone and stress; here are questions expecting the answer *No*, and questions expecting the answer *Yes*; and some expecting *Yes* and *No*. Here are questions that any one can answer, and questions with no answer. Here are questions that mock you, and plague you and coax and keep you guessing. And of course the great variety of subjects, each with a bearing on the public weal, keeps up the interest. Here are questions about money and banks, about Flanders lace and French claret, about Trinity College, and the "Irish Professor who first opened the public schools at Oxford" (199). Here is delicious irony—the squires condemned to drink ale and cider, and the "insupportable national calamity" if the ladies had to drink their tea out of Irish ware. The mere recital (142) of the food exports of Cork (the numbers all written out in full, not a figure) is an epic for stark simplicity—one hundred and seven thousand one hundred and sixty-one barrels of beef; seven thousand three hundred and seventy-nine barrels of pork; thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty-one casks, and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven firkins of butter. The author reasons

¹ A. J. Balfour, Biographical Introduction to G. Sampson's edition of Berkeley's *Works*, vol i, p. xlix.


with you gently one minute, and then all of a sudden he overpowers you with an astonishing image, like his tariff "wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom" (134). Some of his questions are bolts from the blue, *à propos* nothing, and so much to the point: What was it that Solomon compared to a jewel of gold in a swine's snout? (205). He takes you from low to lofty, from the sublime to the ridiculous. There is quick movement, and life and variety, now a rapier thrust, and now the blow of a shillelagh. The cadences are marvellous; there is no monotony, and almost every sentence is pleasant to the ear. Lastly, he makes you see and touch *things* all the time; direct perception and immaterialism have stamped his style, and have melted the *tertium quid*; his words fit his thoughts, as glove fits hand, because he has hold of reality, as in his summary of the people's good, which no moonstruck idealist could ever have phrased, "shoes to their feet, clothes to their backs, and beef in their bellies" (112).

With the *Querist* should be coupled his *A Word to the Wise*, which in 1749 he addressed to the Roman Catholic clergy of the whole country. He invites them to forget religious dissensions and join in the movement for the common good. He paints a sad picture of the distresses of the poor, traces their poverty in part to indolence, which a crusade might cure. There are "roads to be repaired, rivers made navigable, fisheries on the coasts, mines to be wrought, plantations to be raised, manufactures improved, and, above all, lands to be tilled, and sowed with all sorts of grain."

Social service is one and indivisible. The movement which aimed at an all-round betterment of Irish life could not ignore sickness. Public health is part of the common weal; and those who were out to cure indolence and relieve distress naturally set themselves to cure disease and relieve pain. Berkeley's advocacy of tar-water was no casual philanthropy, but an extension of the movement for agricultural and industrial development and general social welfare. His Dublin friends, Prior and Faulkner, stood by him in it through thick and thin. Prior was of course acting in an unofficial capacity, but he was at the time secretary of the Dublin Society, and his public actions at this juncture in connection with public health were so strong and striking that, we may be sure, they must have been in general accord with the policy of the society he represented. The same can be said of Faulkner. He gave tar-water a great deal of publicity, and not merely as an item of public news, or a "stunt," but as part of the



THE ROUND TOWER, GLOYNE
from the Cathedral grounds


George by Divine Commission **Lord Bishop of Ely**
 To all the singular Clergy & Ministers & others whatsoever in
 Constituted in & throughout our County of Ely greeting Whence
 We Inhabit according to the said Law & custom of our said County & holden
 Ordinary Visitation of the said County the twentieth day of June next being
 Saint John's Day of our said Visitation, then then & that we had the clergy as
 of our said County. We therefore jointly & severally do command that the
 City or Town or Village parsonage the Ecclesiastical Towns of Ely
 Ely and Ely and all the singular Rectories & Vicarages & Churches
 Parishes & all the same whatsoever being or to be in the County of Ely
 shall appear within our said County of that they & each of them personally be and
 appear before Us our Chancellor or his Deputies in the Church in our Castle
 next Church of St. Edmund's Ely on Wednesday the twentieth day of June
 next afternoon at the fourth hours of Visitation, to shew us our said ordinary
 Visitation according to the Statute of the said County & to shew us
 Exhibit their several and respective Statutes and Letters of their several Legats
 and Bishops Dispositions and all other Ecclesiastical decrees whatsoever
 to the said effect all the singular Rectories & Vicarages in the County of Ely
 unto Us by reason of our said Visitation of the said County & to shew us
 and further to do & receive what is just. Shall appear also that the
 also City or Town or Village all Church Rectories & Vicarages of the said
 respective Rectories & Vicarages in our said County that they do not
 before Us our Chancellor on the said day above & to shew us & to do
 the truth upon certain matters concerning the same of Ecclesiastical
 then either to be exhibited or Ministered to them as the Statute of our said
 Visitation shall require and whereas that the said Statute in force be & we
 do command personally all the same Rectories & Vicarages and
 Clergy & all the said Rectories & Vicarages & all the said Church Rectories
 Doctors of Divinity Lawyers and Masters and all other subject to our
 Visitation whom We also do admonish by the Tenor of these presents
 according to the said Statute of the said County the said Statute of the said
 according to the said Statute and to do & receive what shall be presented to us
 the said Statute of the said County and whatsoever We shall so in it. In witness
 of Us who execute this our Mandate shall thereof duly certify. Us our
 Chancellor the said day hours and place of the said Statute with these
 words **Dated** under our Episcopal Seal the Twentieth day of May
 the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty and
Sam. Hooper

CITATION TO VISITATION UNDER BERKELEY'S HAND AND SEAL
 from the original in the possession of G. F.-H. Berkeley, Esq

enlightened policy of his paper, which for some years already had had an eye to the public health. When some twenty years after these events the legislature in Ireland turned its attention to public health, it did so as part of a broad programme of social welfare, and one of the first legislative acts was the establishment in 1766 of the County Infirmaries of Ireland for "providing receptacles . . . for the poor who are infirm and diseased . . . a means of restoring the health and preserving the lives of many of his Majesty's subjects, of promoting labour and industry, and of encouraging the manufactures of this Kingdom."¹

Tar is a black and sticky substance with none too good a name in letters, and the very idea of a bishop discarding his white lawn sleeves and handling it and extracting a nasty medicine from it is too much for our sense of gravity, and Berkeley's tar-water has become a jest. In consequence the episode has not been treated by some biographers with sufficient care and dignity, and Berkeley's reputation has suffered. No one objects to a laugh or two about it; Berkeley could see the funny side of it himself, and jokes his tar-drinking friends. But the joke has been carried too far; the whole affair has been treated as a craze, as a proof of unbalanced temperament and failing faculties, if not of a disordered mind. Serious biography must leave the comic aspect aside, and I shall try to set the incident in its context and historical perspective. Berkeley's tar-water was no jest in his day except to jesters. Thousands of sick and sufferers blessed his name. The apostles of old could heal the sick; a bishop in the eighteenth century could with perfect propriety make the attempt, and situated as he was Berkeley simply *had* to do so.

This thing happened two hundred years ago. If a bishop to-day in a well-ordered society, with doctors and nurses and dispensaries in every parish, and chemists in every street, and hospitals at the end of the telephone and ambulances at call, were to do what Berkeley did, it would be absurd, and we should be right to laugh at him, and say, Let the cobbler stick to his last. But consider the facts in Ireland in 1744. The metropolis had its physicians and one or two voluntary hospitals. The Charitable Infirmary, now Jervis Street Hospital, was opened in 1718, Steevens' Hospital in 1733, and Mercer's in 1734. But neither the State nor the municipality was directly concerned. It was all left to private enterprise and benevolence. There was no

¹ 5 Geo. 3 c. xx. Royal assent 7.vi.1766. For this quotation and much else in this section I am indebted to T. P. C. Kirkpatrick, M.D., Litt.D.

department of public health. In country districts there was no provision for the care of the sick poor. Any medical help that was given came from the great houses or the landed gentry, who had to some extent taken over the traditional therapy of the religious houses. There was not a doctor or a nurse in Cloyne, and that the sick poor there should look to the manse-house for medical advice and treatment was both natural and in accordance with custom.

"Domestic medicines," recipes written out by hand, were carefully preserved and handed on in most great houses. Prior took steps to secure the publication of such remedies. On 1 January 1745 he announced in the *Dublin Journal* that he knows of a remedy for sore eyes which has cured 500 cases in six months, but that the remedy is secret and the owner will not permit publication. He adds: "The powers of nature are not sufficiently known, and many useful discoveries which have been made from time to time by being kept secret or by falling into hands that know not the use of them are entirely lost to the world. It were to be wished that they who are possessed of such secrets or receipts would be so public-spirited as to put them in practice themselves, or put it in the power of others to do so." Some remedies were published in the press; not a few of them contained rare and costly ingredients, and some of them had accompaniments which drove Berkeley to say: "It is to be feared that they who use salivations and copious bleedings may, though they should recover of the distemper, in their whole life be never able to recover of the remedies."¹ The *Dublin Journal* for 23 April 1743 reports 400,000 ill in London of an epidemical cold and fever, and offers as a cure bleeding and sweating by drinking hot sack, whey, and lemon posset. Other remedies announced about this time in the *Dublin Journal* are, for bloody and other fluxes (28 June 1746), bite of mad dog (5 September 1747), and for recovering lost voice, cure of colic and of murrain in cattle (19 September 1747). On 3 September 1743 there is a long article on the plague with the prescription of muscadine, sage, rue, pepper, ginger, treacle, Mithridate, and Angellico water.

Such was the general situation in Ireland about health, hygiene, sickness, and medicine, when Berkeley in his episcopal laboratory began to experiment with an infusion of tar.

The winter of 1739-40 was memorable for its severity; the Shannon was frozen; a hurling match was played on it, and a

¹ *Siris*, S. 218.

whole sheep roasted.¹ On the first Sunday of the great frost the Bishop came down to breakfast without a grain of powder in his wig. Mrs. Berkeley, the chaplain, and some visitors all called out at once, asking what ailed his Lordship. He replied that a great deal ailed him; there would be a very long frost; the potatoes would perish, and the poor must depend on flour, or starve. "So no powder will I, or shall any individual of my family wear until next harvest." During the frost and until the summer he gave £20 in gold or a banknote every Monday morning to be distributed among the poor of Cloyne, "besides what they receive daily, hourly, out of his kitchen and housekeeper's room."

Sickness and plague followed the famine. Next winter Berkeley and Prior exchange notes on remedies for the dysentery that has been raging in other parts of the country, and has just struck Cloyne. Berkeley has cured several cases by a mixture of broth and resin; he is thinking of tar-water as a preventive, is making inquiries, and conducting experiments. A week later the malady is raging at Cloyne, though the weather is fine and warm. Then Berkeley makes his first public appearance as a physician, and offers his first contribution to public health by sending a note to the *Dublin Journal*, recommending broth with chalk and milk; "it has saved many lives and continues to save many lives in my neighbourhood." In the following May he writes: "The distresses of the sick and poor are endless; the havoc of mankind in the counties of Cork, Limerick, and some adjacent places hath been incredible. The nation probably will not recover this loss in a century. . . . About two months since I heard Sir Richard Cox say that five hundred were dead in the parish where he lives."² The province of Munster has been devastated by fluxes and fevers and want. At first the family escape, and then (June 1741) they take it, and Berkeley is "the only physician to them and my poor neighbours."³

The resin which Berkeley advocated for dysentery is clearly connected with tar-water, and in his letters of this period to Prior he speaks of them both together. In 1730, when he was in Rhode

¹ *Dublin Journal*, 29 January, cf. 1 July, "this critical time when our own island is in want and our poor at home are starving," and Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. ccccxiii. See also *Dublin Journal* for 15 and 18 November 1740, where it is stated that "ladies of greatest quality and beauty" have left off powdering their hair, and that noblemen have forbidden their servants to powder wigs or hair, because of the scarcity of flour. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 265; cf. *Dublin Journal*, 21 February 1741.

³ Fraser, *ib.*, p. 269.

Island, there was a severe epidemic of smallpox at Boston.¹ He heard that the Indians used tar-water as a specific preventive, though he did not actually meet it in use. He argued that what prevents might cure, and that what cures smallpox might cure dysentery and other maladies. He studied the chemistry of his day, and found out how to eliminate from the infusion the thick and nauseating elements, and to run it off clear. He experimented on himself, on his family, and on the sick at Cloyne.² In his own case there was some deep-rooted disorder. He suffered from a nervous colic which rendered his life a burden, and his pains were exasperated by exercise. Through tar-water he found "such a gradual return of health and ease, that I esteem my having taken this medicine the greatest of all temporal blessings, and am convinced that, under Providence, I owe my life to it."³

Thus after long experiment and careful thought, and fortified by personal experience and observation, Berkeley took the plunge, and early in 1744 he published his *Siris*⁴ (to use its best known title), in its day the most celebrated of his books, and the one which (if Stock's *Life* is right) cost him the most time and pains. A digest of it is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in April (vol. 14, pp. 193-96, 232), and on 29 April C. Pratt wrote,⁵ "The book most talked of at present is a pamphlet of Bishop Berkeley's upon the virtues of tar-water." The work passed through at least six editions in the first year, some of the editions containing more than one issue; it was translated, in whole or part, into French, German, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish, and it drew from Berkeley several supplementary publications, which are listed below.⁶

¹ Cutler to Grey, J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History* . . . , vol. iv, p. 290. ² see *Siris*, S. 2; letter to T. P., Esq.; letter to Linden *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. xli, c. 4, p. 160; and cf. receipt in *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1739, vol. ix, p. 36, which describes the use of tar-water in South Carolina. ³ *Siris*, S. 119. ⁴ It must have appeared in February or early March. On 20 March the *Dublin Journal* advertises what must have been the third edition, with the name *Siris* and the initials GLBOG (George, Lord Bishop of Cloyne), price 3s. 6d. The original title was *Philosophical Reflexions and inquiries concerning the virtues of tar-water, and divers other subjects connected together and arising from one another*. The words "A chain of" were prefixed in the 2nd ed., and *Siris* (the Greek for a little chain) was substituted for the addition in the 3rd ed. See also the *Dublin Journal* for 24 March, 17 April, 4 September. ⁵ J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History* . . . , vol. i, p. 645. ⁶ (1) *On Siris and its enemies*, 1744; retaliatory verses, published *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, vol. 14, p. 559; (2) *A Letter to T. P. Esq. from the Author of Siris*, 1744; (3) *A second letter to Thomas Prior Esq. on the virtues of tar-water*, 1746; in the Appendix to Prior's *Authentick Narrative*; (4) *A Letter from the author of Siris to Thomas Prior Esq. concerning the usefulness of tar-water in the plague* . . . , 1747; (5) *Two Letters from the Right Rev. Dr. George Berkeley . . . the one to Thomas Prior Esq. (repeat of 4); the other to the Rev. Dr. Hales* . . . , 1747; (6) *Farther thoughts on tar-water*, in the *Miscellany*, 1752. See Jessop and Luce, *Bibliography*.

Tar-water leaped into fame on both sides of the Channel. Young Edmund Burke, still at Trinity College, wrote in July 1744 to Richard Sheridan: "I am sure tar is the universal medicine here notwithstanding the opposition of its enemies, the physicians."¹ On 10 June 1744 W. Duncombe wrote to Archbishop Herring: "It is impossible to write a letter now without tincturing the ink with tar-water. This is the common topic of discourse both among the rich and poor, high and low; and the Bishop of Cloyne has made it as fashionable as going to Vauxhall or Ranelagh."² Do you sell tar-water? a man asked an apothecary; tar-water, was the reply, why, I sell nothing else.

A dispensary was opened in St. James's Street, London, by the "Proprietors of the tar-water warehouse," who published a tract professing to explain Berkeley's terms and giving instructions for making tar-water well. Lady Egmont took the remedy, and the Earl seems to have introduced it into Court circles. The Princess Caroline tried it, and so did the Duke of Newcastle. It had considerable vogue on the Continent, and Berkeley corresponded with Dr. D. W. Linden in French about it.³

In Dublin and throughout Ireland the success of tar-water was even greater. Sickness was rampant, and here was a cheap remedy, easy to prepare, in which the inventor had no proprietary interest; and the demand was whetted by opposition from a section of the medical profession. Already by 28 April 1744 tar is advertised for sale. Heatly, "opposite the College, Dame Street," advertises "best Norway tar, any quantity from a barrel to a quart . . . tar in barrels, half-barrels, and quarter casks." The demand must have been enormous, and it was continued for years. Heatly's advertisements appear at intervals almost to the day of Berkeley's death. Cures are announced in the *Journal* (16 June, 21 August 1744; 19 March, 9, 23 April, 29 June, 1745; 1 November 1748; 15 July 1749). It is recommended for cattle (6 December 1748), and for horses (26 December 1750). Epigrams and verses, mostly in praise of Berkeley or his remedy, appear in the *Journal* (14 July, 18 August, 22 September 1744). Some of the Dublin doctors took fright, and denounced the "epidemical madness of drinking tar-water." Their opposition came to a head with the publication in the *Dublin Journal* (2 June) of a statement that many affidavits by patients at Steevens' Hospital

¹ Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, p. 235. ² *Letters from Dr. Thomas Herring to William Duncombe*, p. 70. ³ see *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xli, c. 4, pp. 155, 156, 160; *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii, p. 51.

(Dr. Le Hunte, the hospital physician, had tried the remedy) had been made to the effect that after a long course of tar-water "none found themselves in any wise better but many of them much worse." On 30 June the printer invites those who have received benefit from tar-water to send him their names and addresses, and in the following issue there are *Remarks* on the hospital manifesto. Here, no doubt, was the hand of Prior, acting through his ally, Faulkner, and those who cannot see in the episode more than a good bishop's craze and a people's credulity would do well to ponder Prior's acts, and to read his book.

Prior was a public-spirited, matter-of-fact person as little liable to illusions as the Royal Dublin Society, which he fostered and helped to found. He appealed through the press for information about cures and benefit, and received a great response; and in 1746 he published *An Authentick Narrative of the success of tar-water*. . . . The Dedication to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chesterfield, removes the enterprise from the sphere of casual philanthropy, and places it in its context as part of a welfare policy coincident with Chesterfield's own desires. Prior begins with an examination of the hospital protest. The terms of the *Advertisement*, he shows, went beyond the facts; there were only six affidavits in all; these were "the most desperate cases in the whole hospital"; the remedy was only tried for a relatively short period, and four of the six patients could not sign their names. He then gives a register of the cases of benefit from tar-water which had been communicated to him. Some are anonymous; more have the names and addresses; many letters are given at length; one or two are from public bodies. The list of names is impressive, covering all sorts and conditions. It includes deans and doctors of medicine, two Members of Parliament, gentlemen of property and labourers, parish clergymen, lawyers, and merchants. No doubt the benefit might have been had through some other remedy as well; but what of that? Who can doubt the truth of Prior's level words (p. 146): "Thousands have received benefit, and daily do receive benefit in Ireland, England, Holland, France, Portugal, and Germany, by the use of tar-water. The letters sent to me signify the same, and the least enquiry may satisfy others of the truth thereof."

Among the many publications provoked by *Siris* were the following¹: in May 1744 appeared *Anti-Siris*, a tract of 80 pages. *A Letter to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Cloyne* in June was followed

¹ see also Jessop's *Bibliography of George Berkeley*.

by *Remarks* on the letter in July. *Reflexions concerning the virtues of tar-water*, by H. Jackson, in June suggested improvements in preparing the infusion. In July appeared *Siris in the Shades*, by T. R., M.D., which was answered by Philanthropos in *The Bishop of Cloyne Defended*. . . . The controversy continued for some years. Mention should be made of *Reflections upon Catholicons or universal medicines*, by Thos. Knight in 1749 ; and finally we have a balanced account of the remedy when the heat of controversy was over from the pen of Dr. Cullen, who in his *Materia Medica* (vol. ii, p. 334) admits the value of the medicine in many maladies, but criticizes extravagant claims made on its behalf.

Men are always looking for the universal cure and always laughing at it. Every generation could name remedies that have held the spotlight for a while, and then passed into the dark. The undying hope and the attendant laughter are deep in the human heart, expressive of chastened optimism. No fully rational explanation of mass movements towards particular remedies can be given ; but they occur periodically, and they are sharp reminders of the reality of the psychological element in healing ; and therefore it is simply futile to ask whether Berkeley's patients were cured by tar-water, or only thought themselves cured. One thing is certain, that if grateful patients claim for the remedy more than the facts warrant, it is not the fault of the inventor.

Berkeley's original claims for tar-water were modest ; he says that it had cured twenty-five fevers in his own family and several sicknesses among his poorer neighbours. He advises discretion in the use of it, saying : " This essay leaves room for future experiment in every part of it, not pretending to be a complete treatise." ¹ As time went on and reports of all sorts of cures came in from many quarters, his hopes rose. In his first public letter to Prior he speaks optimistically of the possibility of a universal medicine, arguing that there is no *a priori* reason against it, saying : " I freely own that I suspect tar-water is a panacea. I may be mistaken, but it is worth trial ; for the chance of so great and general benefit, I am willing to stand the ridicule of proposing it." It is a guarded statement ; and he guards himself still further by his comment on the meaning of the term *panacea* ; he says expressly that he does not mean by it a medicine to cure " all individuals (this consists not with mortality), but a medicine that cures or relieves all the different species of distempers." He never thought of it as a drug with magical properties, but as a

¹ *Siris*. SS. 77-80.

cooling, cleansing cordial, of benefit to the constitution in most cases, as a general tonic to the digestion which "corroborates the stomach."¹ Such claims are not excessive; and knowing of the remedy, he would have failed in his duty if he had not made it known; any man of principle and public spirit in his position would have done what he did.

It is easy for us to-day to be dispassionate judges of extravagant claims and hopes; we have our services of public health, the sick poor are cared for; there are anaesthetics for all; and we can ring up the doctor if we are sick. In Cloyne of 1744 there were none of these things. The Bishop saw the poor at his very gates dying off like flies; he knew that many lives could be saved. He did not rush into quackery; he did not discredit the medical profession by word or deed; there was no profit-motive in him; nor did he (originally at any rate) raise hopes too high. He drew attention to a cheap, safe medicine that rich and poor alike could keep in the house and use at a moment's notice, with a prospect of benefit in many cases, and practically no fear of ill effects. His medicine was recognized and still is recognized by the medical profession. After some delay it was placed in the pharmacopoeia,² and seems to have appeared in the three pharmacopoeias of London, of Edinburgh, and of Dublin. In the Dublin Pharmacopoeia for 1826 the directions are almost word for word as Berkeley wrote: "Aqua picis liquidae. Picis liquidae mensura Librae duae, Aquae Congium. Misce agitans cum bacillo ligneo per horae quartam partem; dein, postquam pix subsederit, coletur liquor, et in lagenis probe obduratis servetur." A preparation of tar is in the current British Pharmacopoeia.³

Readers of *Siris* are often puzzled by the combination of medical instruction and metaphysical speculation which they find in its pages. Here is the explanation. In those days great men's minds did not run in narrow grooves, and their thought and action went hand in hand. Science was philosophy and philosophy was

¹ *Siris*. S. 80. ² The *Gentleman's Magazine* published complaints about the delay; see *Dublin Journal*, 7 January 1749. ³ At the meeting of the British Medical Association in Dublin in 1933 Dr. James Bell, F.T.C.D., read a paper on The Tar-water, in the course of which he said: "There is no doubt that it has definite therapeutic value; tar-water would contain guaiacol, pyrocatechol, creosol, and similar aromatic bodies. It would therefore have a definite action as a gastro-intestinal disinfectant and as an expectorant, and deodorant. As an external antiseptic for various skin lesions, tar is still used in a manner similar to that recommended by Berkeley." Till quite recent times l'eau de goudron was commonly served at continental hotels as a table-water. See also A. C. Wootton, *Chronicles of Pharmacy*, London 1910, vol. i, pp. 315-18.

science. Knowledge was one and indivisible, and Berkeley being a philosopher could not rest content with departmental truth, and he had to seek "the reason why" of things natural and supernatural. Some of his theorizings seem to us bizarre, and are unfounded; but he studied the best chemistry and physics of his day, and in view of their teaching he concluded that "the luminous spirit lodged and detained in the native balsam of pines and firs is of a nature so mild and benign, and proportioned to the human constitution, as to warm without heating, to cheer but not inebriate, and to produce a calm and steady joy like the effect of good news. . . ." ¹ That result links physic and metaphysic, experiment and speculation, science and philosophy, and explains why Berkeley penned this treatise which, as has been truly said, begins with tar-water and ends with the Holy Trinity.

Let me conclude with a brief sketch of the argument of the *Siris*, which will show the philosophical aspects of the work, and the links in the chain of which its title speaks.

After describing the making of tar-water and the dosage and the types of case in which it has been found useful, Berkeley inquires how it operates, and he advances a theory of its operation based on the chemical researches of Homberg and Boërhave into the nature of salts, acids, and alkalies.

In the vast receptacle we call *air* the principles of vegetable life are contained as in a "common seminary." This elastic, restless element acts unceasingly on all things that have life. The air is not homogeneous, but owes its volatility and elasticity to "the attraction of some active, subtle substance, whether it be called fire, ether, light, or the vital spirit of the world" (S. 147). He also calls it "pure invisible fire," and "the first natural mover," taking care to show that he is here using the terms of agency and cause "in a different, subordinate, and improper sense"; because, as he always taught, the only true cause in nature, the only moving mover is the divine Spirit.²

Returning to tar-water (S. 217), he maintains, in the spirit of modern therapy, that its function is to assist nature to do her proper work. Tar-water is a vehicle of the natural, curative properties of the ether, "assisting the *vis vitæ*, as an alterative and cordial, enabling nature by an accession of congenial spirit to assimilate that which could not be assimilated by her proper

¹ *Siris*, S. 217. Cf. Cowper (of tea, *The Task*, Bk. iv 39), "The cups that cheer, but not inebriate, wait on each"; no doubt imitated from Berkeley. ² *ib.*, S. 154, *et passim*.

force, and so to subdue the *fomes morbi*" (S. 218). Interpreting this ether, or animating fire, in terms of his own philosophy of sense symbolism, he calls it "the bright and lively signature of the divine mind." This ether is not matter, nor is it mind; it is the sensible world, or the heart of it, in which the divine spirit is immediately present and through which He directly operates. Rejecting, as ever, material substance and corporeal forces, Berkeley proceeds in thought from the sensible to the intelligible through many intermediate links, and he illustrates the transitions by passages taken from Plato and Pythagoras and Aristotle, and from the philosophies of Egypt and Chaldea. "The mind, her acts and faculties, furnish a new and distinct class of objects" (S. 297); he deals briefly with those objects, and rises finally to discuss the nature of God, the One, and the Three in One.

The theory of the ether has passed through many vicissitudes since Berkeley's day, and those who have watched its course will be loth to call Berkeley's speculations altogether baseless and absurd. He had found a cheap and safe medicinal substance which cured, or helped to cure, disease; and in the science of his day, not entirely obsolete yet, he found speculative reasons for the virtues of the cure. What could he do but give to the suffering world the cure and the reasons? He did so with modest claims for both. He did so from the purest motives and in the best tradition of the experimentalist. He trod on a few professional corns, but that could not be helped, and was no doubt salutary. Against the quips and ridicule of his day and of later days fair-minded readers will set the silent gratitude of countless poor, the expressed gratitude of public men such as Charles Tottenham, M.P., of Tottenham Green, Co. Wexford, and the noble tribute paid him in the *General Evening Post*: "Whether he teaches, reasons, prescribes, or analyzes, he does all with the knowledge of a professor, the humanity of a gentleman, and, to crown all, with a good bishop's piety, and leaves us uncertain whether to admire in him most the chemist, physician, philosopher, or divine."¹

¹ For 4 June 1744; see *Dublin Journal*, 12 June 1744, and Prior's *Authentic Narrative*, pp. 26, 55, *et passim*.

CHAPTER XIV

CLOSING YEARS

"THE evening of life I chuse to pass in a quiet retreat. Ambitious projects, intrigues and quarrels of statesmen are things I have formerly been amused with, but they now seem to me a vain, fugitive dream. If you thought as I do, we should have more of your company, and you less of the gout. We have not those transports of you Castle-hunters,¹ but our lives are more calm and serene." This from Berkeley's last extant letter, dated 6 April 1752, to Dean Gervais, paints with fair accuracy, no doubt, his general outlook in his closing years; but he is trying to lure his ambitious friend to Cloyne, and he exaggerates, perhaps, his own detachment. At any rate, he was a worker to the end, and his powers were unimpaired. He had done with personal ambition, but was concerned still for the future of his philosophy. Family bereavement and loss of friends have fixed his gaze on the horizon; but his comparative detachment is not disillusionment or discontent or idleness; he has learned life's secret, and is happy in his religion and philosophy, in his home and work.

In John Wainwright, Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1741, Berkeley lost a dear friend, who had thoughts of accompanying him to America, and whose affection is shown in the three important letters (referred to above, p. 157) written on Berkeley's behalf to Mrs. Clayton. The *Dublin Journal* obituary described him as "an excellent good lawyer, and an upright judge, a learned scholar, and a gentleman of the most extensive charity." The harbour guns fired salutes when his body was taken on board ship in Dublin Bay to be removed to Chester for burial with his ancestors. The Wainwright monument in Chester Cathedral bears a Latin inscription written by Berkeley.²

¹ i.e. hunters at Dublin Castle, a path to preferment. See Rand, *B&P*, pp. 186, 216. I saw the A.L.S. of the above letter to Gervais in the collection of Dr. Terry of Newport, R.I., in 1933. ² *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xli, c. 4, p. 161; cf. vol. xlii, c. 6, p. 117.

In the winter of 1746-47 died his cousin, Captain George Berkeley, who had been in command of a man-of-war for about twenty years, and was reported to have left £18,000. The Bishop and his brothers being heirs-at-law, Prior was directed to secure a copy of the will. £100 was left to "my cousin Captain William Berkeley" (see above, p. 27), and there was a small bequest to the Earl and Countess of Berkeley; the rest of his money was left outside the family.

Dr. Robert Berkeley, the Rector of Midleton, lost his wife in 1748, and Cloyne shared the sorrow of Ballynacorra.

Then death came nearer, and on 3 March 1751 the Bishop buried his son William, "a fine youth . . . whose loss at an early age was thought to have stuck too close to his father's heart" (Stock). Eliza Berkeley records that William was as good-looking as his elder brother George, but taller and more slightly built, that both danced well and played "incomparably," William on the violin, George on the violoncello. From the same source we learn that the death occurred at 4 a.m., and that when George went to his father's room to announce the heavy tidings, he found him with "one arm in his night-gown, rising to go to his son . . . he drew it out again, saying The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord . . . and lay down in his bed." On the day of the funeral the Bishop's brother and friends dined with him, and no one would have supposed from his manner that he had lost his idol. But so it was. He often spoke to George about William, and said: "I see him incessantly before my eyes." A few days later he wrote to Bishop Benson:

I was a man retired from the amusement of politics, visits, and what the world calls pleasure. I had a little friend, educated always under mine own eye, whose painting delighted me, whose music ravished me, and whose lively, gay spirit was a continual feast. It has pleased God to take him hence. God, I say, in mercy hath deprived me of this pretty, gay plaything. His parts and person, his innocence and piety, his particularly uncommon affection for me, had gained too much upon me. Not content to be fond of him, I was vain of him. I had set my heart too much upon him—more perhaps than I ought to have done upon anything in this world.¹

Two friendships, with Percival and with Prior, which had both lasted for forty years or more, apparently without a cloud, ter-

¹ Fraser, *LL*, p. 325; cf. Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. cccxxxvii, where the "My dear Lord" to whom this letter is addressed is stated to have been either Benson or the Earl of Egmont. It must have been Benson. The first earl was dead, and Berkeley never wrote to him or his son in such intimate terms.

minated about this time ; I must speak of them both at some length, for the letters in which they found expression are the chief sources of our knowledge of the details of Berkeley's life.

I referred above (p. 49) to Sir John Percival and the early days of their friendship and correspondence, and the course of the story has shown that they remained for life in constant contact. When they were in London together, Berkeley often stayed at Charlton, and when Berkeley was on the Continent and in America, and later at Cloyne, their correspondence was regular and at times frequent. Percival's connections at Court and with public men were of great service to Berkeley when he was seeking preferment or engaged in the business of the Bermuda scheme, and Berkeley helped Percival in his public concerns, particularly the Georgia scheme (for which he received his earldom), and probably was of some assistance to him in his private affairs later in life ; for the Percival estates were in the diocese of Cloyne. Percival looked after Berkeley's financial business in London, and they accommodated each other with loans more than once. In 1733 Berkeley lent £3,000 to the earl, secured on a mortgage on the Irish estates, and the loan was discharged in the autumn of 1746.¹ The letters on both sides are dignified and courteous, but sentiment rarely obtrudes ; occasionally it breaks through, as when Berkeley writes : " I have lately had the honour of a letter from your Lordship overflowing with that goodness which is so natural to you I have experienced too long to doubt of." ²

The earl's son, Viscount John Percival, who became second Earl of Egmont and was elected M.P. for Westminster in 1741, inherited the friendship, and received several letters from the Bishop, still extant, and he and his lady visited the palace at Cloyne on more than one occasion.³ The Berkeley-Percival correspondence continued to within four months of the earl's death, which occurred on 1 May 1748. A fortnight later Berkeley wrote to the second earl : " I think myself obliged to condole with your Lordship on the death of a father who honoured me with

¹ see Rand, *B&P*, pp. 290, 294-95; *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, xli, c. 4, pp. 153-54, and xlii, c. 6, p. 117. ² Rand, *ib.* p. 235. ³ The *Dublin Journal* for 16 January 1742 contains a tribute to Viscount Percival as landlord of Canturk ; on 12 July 1743, the tenants of the earl celebrated the victory of Dettingen at Lohort Castle, four miles from Mallow, " the castle remarkable for its height and commanding prospect was finely illuminated." The spelling Perceval occurs in three family inscriptions in St. Michan's church, Dublin.

his friendship for about forty years, and whose life adorned every part of that private path he chose to walk in." ¹

Thomas Prior, Berkeley's friend at school and college and throughout life, has repeatedly been mentioned already; and some further facts about him must now be given; for the letters to Prior are the second main source of our knowledge of Berkeley's life, and since they were almost the only letters known to Stock, and were published (in part) along with a brief account of Prior's life in the decisive quarto edition (1784) of the *Works*, their influence with biographers of Berkeley has been predominant.²

Prior was born at Rathdowney in Queen's County about 1679. He was entered at Kilkenny College shortly after Berkeley, preceding him to Trinity College, where he graduated in 1703. He had property at Rathdowney worth about £500 a year. He did not enter the profession, but he had considerable legal knowledge. The aim of his life was to promote the welfare of his country and to remedy public and social evils. A commonsense nationalist, loyal to the Crown, he resisted the policy of exploiting Ireland in the English interest. His publications include *A List of the Absentees of Ireland* (1729), tracts on coin and linen, and *An Authentic Narrative of the success of Tar-water* (1746). "The glory of his life and object of his unremitting labours was the founding and promoting of that most useful institution, the Dublin Society, of which for a series of years he discharged the duty of Secretary." He acted as Berkeley's Dublin agent (on commission in the Van Homrigh affairs), managing the legal business, settling with creditors, and collecting rents and revenues. Prior farmed the deanery, bought books, took houses and lodgings, sent his letters to the press, executed commissions, lent pictures, sent flax and hemp seed, and in a thousand and one ways acted as Berkeley's *alter ego*. The correspondence is matter-of-fact, and turns almost entirely on business matters; but Prior had some literary attainments and scientific interests, especially meteorology, and the causes of wind and weather and remedies for sickness are discussed by the two friends. On the appearance of the *Siris* Prior came out

¹ *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, xli, c. 4, p. 157. The Egmont Collection in the Public Record Office, London, which contains the invaluable Berkeley-Percival correspondence, contains also regular reports from Percival's land agents in the south of Ireland, thus preserving a picture of the working of the landlord system under a humane, though absentee landlord; it illustrates too the tense situation before and during the 1745 rising. ² There are about 250 letters by Berkeley known to me; of these some 89 are to Prior, and almost exactly the same number to Percival.

boldly as its champion,¹ advertising for information about cures, publishing first results in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (August 1745, vol. 15, p. 435), and rounding off his crusade with his *Authentick Narrative*, which was dedicated to his friend and ally, the Earl of Chesterfield, and was several times reprinted.

In the winter of 1750-51 Prior's health began to fail; the *Dublin Journal* for the 19 January 1751 reports his perfect recovery, but a relapse occurred in the autumn, and he died on 21 October, and was buried in Rathdowney churchyard. The *Journal* for the day after his death pays a high tribute to his patriotism and piety; but no higher tribute could be paid to a self-effacing altruist, as was Prior, than the inscription, composed by Berkeley, for the monument, erected in memory of Prior by public subscription, in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. Especially striking and honorific are the words: "Qui, cum prodesse mallet quam conspicui, nec in senatum cooptatus, nec consiliorum aulae particeps, nec ullo publico munere insignitus, rem publicam mirifice auxit et ornavit auspiciis, consilii, labore indefesso."²

The bereavements here recorded give a sombre tinge to the story of Berkeley's closing years, and I am happy to be able to brighten the picture somewhat with the following letter which I found.³ In it we see the Berkleys a happy family party, complete with their old friend, Tom Prior, setting off for a brief summer holiday at Killarney. Here is the genial bishop, jesting with the warden and the doctor, enjoying his claret and madeira, appreciating the compliment of the colours, and telling of mine host's rapacity. Prior's interest in the arsenal oil, and the minting and the decimal system are typical of the man. The ready hospitality, the gift of fruit, and the loan of the linen are characteristic of Irish country life, and it is pleasant to think of the grey old castle, armed to the teeth in the "'45," and now a few years later gay with the lights of the branching candelabrum, and merry with laughter and children's voices. Lohort (also Loghort and Loghart) Castle was four miles from Mallow towards the western limit of Cloyne diocese on the direct road to Killarney. Berkeley is reported to have said that "The King of France might lay out another Versailles, but that with all his revenue he could not lay out another Muckcross."⁴

¹ see above, p. 202. Stock's *Life*, p. xxviii, gives a sketch of Prior's career. ² For an account of the three extant autograph drafts of this inscription, see *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, xli, c. 4, pp. 158-59. ³ In the Egmont Papers, vol. 126; first published in *Proc.R.I.Acad.*, vol. xlii, c. 6, pp. 118-19. ⁴ I. Weld, *Illustrations of the scenery of Killarney* . . ., 1812, p. 12; see *Cork Examiner*, 18 May 1932.

COOLEY TO THE (SECOND) EARL OF EGMONT

(Vol. 126.)

Lohort Castle September 4th 1750

My Lord

Mr Palliser a Clergyman came here the 16th of Augst to acquaint me that the Bishop of Cloyne his Lady and Family intended lying here on Tuesday the 21st and to have everthing in readiness—I desired to know what his Lordship chose to drink and what meat he and his Lady liked and I would provide it : but he absolutely forbad me for he sayd nothing would more disoblige him for he intended to make the Castle his Home to be sole master and provide every thing himself at his own charges and had directed Mr Palliser to be his caterer and farther directed it might be cold meat—The meat was accordingly dressed at Ballyclough and his Lordship Mrs Berkeley Miss Berkeley his 2 sons George and William and his nephew George Berkeley, together with Mr Prior a great Patriot on this side of the water, Mr Palliser & Mr Jackson clergymen, Mr Mitchell a Painter Mr. Du Boise a Master of Musick, their servants and my Lord's servants he travelled in a Vis an Vee a small coach & six, came here on the 21st about 12 o'clock, Captain Newman sent a handsome present of fruit—Mr H : Wrixon of Blossomfort sent me 6 pairs of sheets and pillow-cases Mr Purcell was at the Assizes.

My Lord wondered how so large a company could be accomodated with bedding (for we made up 14 bedds) in so small a place—both he Mr Prior & his comp^a expressed great pleasure in every thing they saw especially the arms which have not now been touched these six months and yet retain the same brightness as the first day by means of the oyle invented by the Jesuit for the King of France's Arsenal & disclosed in England by Gill Smith who was executed at Kennington Common for the murder of his wife—I shewed some of the oyle of my own preparation to Mr Prior who took the receipt from me for the Arsenalls in Dublin His Lordship set out on his journey the 22^d and returned the 31st with the same company except Mr Prior who went to visit his estate in the County of Limerick—Mr Purcell came also and gave out 7 bottles of Claret and one of Madeira, his Lordship left 2 guineas to be distributed among the servants.

I cant omitt mentioning an odd remark which his Lordship made on Dr Houston's Arms for he carefully examin'd them all—Mr Warden says he I understand you have given mottoes & crests to some of your officers and I fancy Arms too if you have given those to your Doctor I much question your sincerity—here are three Ravens chequers of black and white the emblem of the Sheet & the Pall, the crest an Hour Glass and the motto *in Time*. this produced some diversion at the Doctor's suit but I assured his Lordship I had no hand in it that it was emblazoned in his own handwriting which is Or a chevron chequy Argent & Sable between three martlets of the latter—Motto & Crest as before

Mr William Berkeley drew the Castle from the S.E. point and the outworks according to the old moddle but his Lordship wuld have it plain as in its present state—the colours were fixed on the Castle which he acknowledged as an extraordinary compliment.

Every Thing was done in the same manner as if your Lordship was here the Branch light up and the candles on the stairs etc.

They were entertained at my Lord Kenmare's House but had not bedds enough—the Innkeeper at Killarney is the most unreasonable Fellow in the universe he charged for my Lord's horses for that week 26^l : and what was worse made him pay it—there never was a greater resort to see the natural beauties of these Leaks than this summer and perhaps never greater imposition this must surely give ye Lord Kenmare concern who really merits the esteem of everyone.

I must not conclude this letter without acquainting your Lordship that there is a scheme on foot under the management of Mr Prior for a coinage for the kingdom—The warden and officers of the Mint hav. ever opposed a mint in this country because they have over and above their sallaries certain allowances in proportion to the quantities coined—thus the Irish have and doe continue to pay for the coinage of the copper halfpence current among us—By Mr Prior's scheme money is to be coined in England at the Mint and this kingdom [P] for it, the pieces are in gold 40s : 20s : & 10s : in silver 6s : 8d : 3s : 4d : 1s : 8d : 10d, and 5d : I thought shillings crowns etc would be more convenient but the Bishop & he were both of a contrary opinion—My principal reason for mentioning this is that your Lordship may be prepared to oppose or further this scheme as your Lordship shall think it more or less conducive to the real benefit of this nation.

I sho^d have told you that it was Mr Prior that brought the light guineas into discredit & that he warrants in 6 months there will not be one in the nation—one vessell from Cork carried off 18,000 and in one from Dublin directly bound to London carried off upwards of 70,000 of them

I am my Lord with my dutifull respects to my Lady Lord Percival, Masters & Lady Your Lordship's most humble & most obedient servant

Will Cooley

Warden of Lohort Castle.

After Prior's death Berkeley's Dublin affairs were attended to by a relative or friend of the Prior family, the Rev. Mervyn Archdale (or Archdall), then a young clergyman in the diocese of Cloyne, and, later, Rector of Attanagh, and author of the celebrated *Monasticon Hibernicum*. Through Archdale Berkeley secured books of his own in Prior's possession, papers about tar-water, and the die for the Berkeley medal, and through him the publication of the Prior inscription was arranged. Presumably the Prior letters passed into Archdale's possession ; for he with Archdeacon Gervais are thanked for communicating letters in the Advertisement of the 1784 edition of the *Works*.

Berkeley's attitude to promotion was characteristic of the man, and some account of it must here be given. Cloyne was undoubtedly regarded as a stepping-stone. Of his eight immediate predecessors at Cloyne six had been translated to "higher" sees, and people thought it strange that a man of his piety and outstanding ability should have been left so long in a compara-

tively obscure and poor diocese. The reason was partly political and partly personal. Bishoprics were not given, and as a rule could not be given solely on the grounds of piety and ability. A man's politics had to be considered, and this applied particularly to the archbishoprics. Berkeley was a progressive nationalist, and was not in sympathy with Walpole's administration of Ireland.¹ Had he been Primate or Archbishop of Dublin, he would have had more standing and more influence on policy, but it is very doubtful whether he could have worked well with any of the Viceroy's before Lord Chesterfield. The occupants of those sees were almost necessarily political or politically-minded prelates. Berkeley practically says that he would take the Primacy² if it were offered to him, on account of its wider scope; but probably there was never any thought of offering either archbishopric to him.

One of the better bishoprics than Cloyne he certainly might have had. I doubt if he ever *sought* translation; money alone would not have tempted him; but his reply to Prior (quoted above, p. 158), "to be so very hasty for a removal," does not look as if he expected to end his days at Cloyne. He was not like the Whig bishop who "creeps from bishopric to bishopric," and regards each step as a spring-board; but on the other hand he was not at all times "the absolute philosopher," with head in the clouds, blind to self-interest, and unconcerned about money and mundane affairs. He was careful of money, and he knew the connection between money and power; he knew something of his own worth and ability; he must at times have desired scope and position, and wider scope and higher position. "It is possible to desire honour too much or too little," says Aristotle, and with regard to ambition, Berkeley seems to have erred neither in excess nor defect, but to have achieved that golden mean which Aristotle praises, but cannot name. In more Christian language, Berkeley's desires for money and power and position and scope and honours were all under control, and subject to the will of God.

Statements in the newspapers of the day, statements by the biographers, his widow's remarks, and his own few references to the subject in his correspondence are not entirely consistent. In 1743, according to the *Dublin Journal* (11 June), he was to be translated to Raphoe. That report *may* have been mere gossip;

¹ Walpole lost office in 1741. ² The term usually designates Armagh (Primate of *all* Ireland); but technically Dublin also is a Primacy (Primate of Ireland).

but it is perfectly certain that two years later Lord Chesterfield offered him Clogher, worth twice as much as Cloyne, and he declined.¹ His widow, commenting on the offer, says that the earl "sought him out" and made the offer, accompanying it with the offer of other positions which might fall vacant. Berkeley had told his wife that he was resolved never to change his see, and that "very early in life he had got the world under his feet, and he hoped to trample on it to his latest moments"; but on receipt of the offer he thought of his children, and consulted his wife about it, and declined it with her full approval. Of the Primacy, which fell vacant about this time, he said to his wife: "I desire to add one more to the list of Churchmen who are evidently dead to ambition and avarice."²

His faculties show no decline, and he was a student to the end of his days. On Whitsun Day 1751 he preached in Cloyne Cathedral on the will of God; this is the finest of his extant sermons.³ In 1752 he brought out the third edition of his *Alciphron* without the Essay on Vision, which he had appended to the first two editions. If the omission is significant (which may be doubted) it points to the partial superseding of the original Essay on Vision by the *Theory of Vision Vindicated*.⁴ The text of the *Alciphron* was revised, and a number of alterations made, mostly stylistic. Berkeley clearly wanted the work to stand as his permanent contribution to Christian apologetic. This desire probably accounts for the omission from the seventh dialogue of three sections (5, 6, 7) on the formation of abstract ideas. They are dry and technical, and only of epistemological interest. Unfortunately Fraser (*Works*, 1901, vol. i, p. 218, and vol. ii, p. 323) threw out the suggestion (which has been greedily taken up by critics and expanded into an alleged withdrawal of the bulk of his philosophy) that Berkeley by omitting these sections meant to give up his attack on abstract ideas. Fraser's suggestion, with all that the critics have built on it, is baseless and irresponsible. Berkeley's early doctrine of abstraction in all its original strength, its application pointed, and not blunted, by the omission of these three dry sections, permeates the seventh dialogue revised and unrevised, in 1752 as in 1732.

¹ see Stock's *Life and Biography Britannica*, 2nd ed. vol. iii, Add. and Corrig.

² His letters to Prior show that he was not so unconcerned as this saying might suggest. See his letters of 12 September 1746, and of 9 and 10 February and 22 March 1747. He distinguishes between the Primacy and inferior sees, and virtually says that he would not refuse the former if it were offered to him, but that he would not apply for it, nor would he take an inferior see. ³ see *Hermathena*, vol. xxii, pp. 29-40.

⁴ see above, p. 161

In the same year, presumably before he went to England, he prepared his *Miscellany* for the press; it was printed by Faulkner of the *Dublin Journal*, and was advertised for sale on 14 November (at 2s 8½d and 2s 2d), the advertisement being repeated in practically every issue till the day of his death. It opens with *Farther Thoughts on Tar-Water*, the Bishop's last known composition, which gives hints for preparing and using the infusion, with testimonies to its value, and contains an interesting note on the surmise of some physicians that one day a specific for smallpox would be discovered.

The only other new piece in the *Miscellany* was the well-known *Verses on the prospect of planting arts and learning in America*, which had been written a quarter of a century earlier.¹ The other items are reprints of his *De Motu*, the *Essay towards preventing the ruine of Great Britain*, *A Proposal for the better supplying of Churches . . .*, his sermon before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, the *Querist*, his *Discourse to Magistrates*, and his Letter to the Roman Catholics of his diocese, his *Word to the Wise* and *Maxims concerning Patriotism*. It is a remarkable farewell collection, showing that he had few regrets, and setting the seal of his own mature approval on the philosophy of his youth,² on the great missionary enterprise of his middle life, and upon the public acts and pronouncements of his episcopate.

He must indeed have looked back with considerable satisfaction upon the achievements and main endeavours of his life. From England and Scotland, France and Germany, and even distant America came to him evidence that his philosophy would live. In the last year of his life, 1752, he received a copy of *Elementa Philosophica* by his American friend, Samuel Johnson, who dedicates it to Berkeley, and says in the *Advertisement*: "Whoever is versed in the writings of Bishop Berkeley will be sensible that I am in a particular manner beholden to that excellent philosopher." From the columns of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Dublin Journal* came to him frequent reminders of his reputation as a man of action and of his authoritative position in the republic of letters. He knew and appreciated Lord Chesterfield's high regard for him, and Chesterfield in writing to Faulkner brackets Berkeley with Swift as representatives of the Irish "Augustan age."

¹ see above, p. 96. The poem and the authorship, here confessed, were originally kept secret, no doubt for fear of prejudice to the Bermuda scheme. ² The *De Motu* in every section is an account of motion by an immaterialist and anti-abstractionist.

The final scene takes us to Oxford. In the summer of 1752 Berkeley made arrangements with his neighbour at Cork, Bishop Jemmett Browne, to confirm in Cloyne diocese and perform other episcopal functions; he commissioned his brother, Dr. Robert Berkeley, as vicar-general, "to hold visitations, while the said Bishop is in parts beyond the sea," and let the demesne lands on an annual lease for £200—the sum to be distributed among the poor of Cloyne, Youghal, and Aghada until his return. He signed his will at Cloyne on 31 July 1752, and in the following week he took ship for Bristol either from Rostellan, two miles from Cloyne, or from Cobh (Queenstown) across the bay. His wife, his son George, and his daughter Julia went with him, and perhaps also his young relative or connection, James Wolfe, the future hero of Quebec (see above, p. 22). At Bristol they seem to have met the bishop, Dr. Conybeare, who as Dean of Christ Church had been consulted about a tutor for George.¹ From Bristol they had an easy journey to Oxford, where they took a house in Holywell Street,² near the gardens of New College.

Berkeley had an affectionate regard for the university which he had visited in his young days and called "the most delightful place I have ever seen." But sentiment had little to say to his final visit. The reason for it was severely practical. His second son George, a young man of eighteen, who had never been to school and who had expensive tastes, had just matriculated at Christ Church, and it was most natural that the Bishop, who had personally supervised his children's education, should wish to go with him and see him settled in.³ Stock starts from these facts, but adds sentimental details which should be received with reserve.

Let me quote his words: "In July 1752 he removed though in a bad state of health, with his lady and family to Oxford, in order to superintend the education of one of his sons, then newly admitted a student at Christ-church. He had taken a fixed resolution to spend the remainder of his days in this city,

¹ see Fraser, *LL*, p. 333; also p. 340, "his favourable mention of me to you." Browne's mention of the easy voyage and journey, and "the good health you enjoy" cannot be reconciled with Stock's words, "He was carried from his landing on the English shore in a horse-litter to Oxford," if Stock means that the Bishop arrived at Oxford as a helpless invalid; but probably Stock only means that they took a carriage more comfortable than the ordinary stage coach. ² Fraser knew the tradition (*LL*, p. 337); and the "tradition" is confirmed by Mrs. Berkeley's note in the Chapman MS. (Trinity College, Dublin), ending "Holliswell, April the 4th, 1754." I have not been able to identify the house, but I am told by Dr. J. O. Wisdom that No. 28 is stated to be the house by the residents there. ³ see above, p. 183. The matriculation entry is given under 4 June 1752.

with a view of indulging the passion for a learned retirement, which had ever strongly possessed his mind, and was one of the motives that led him to form his Bermuda project. But as no body could be more sensible than his Lordship of the impropriety of a bishop's non-residence, he previously endeavoured to exchange his high preferment for some canonry or headship at Oxford. Failing of success in this, he actually wrote over to the secretary of State, to request that he might have permission to resign his bishopric, worth at that time at least £1,400 per annum. So uncommon a petition excited his Majesty's curiosity to enquire who was the extraordinary man that preferred it; being told that it was his old acquaintance Dr. Berkeley, he declared that he should die a bishop in spite of himself, but gave him full liberty to reside where he pleased."

There are several improbabilities and inconsistencies in that account. The alleged intention to spend the rest of his days in Oxford is inconsistent with the admitted impropriety of permanent non-residence. Jemmett Browne speaks of his absence as if it were only a temporary matter; the rent of the demesne lands was to go to the poor "until his return"; there is no hint of any large scale furniture removal; we know from Eliza Berkeley that his library was left at Cloyne; and the pressing invitation to Gervais of 6 April 1752 must have taken a different form, if they had any thoughts of pulling up their stakes for good and all in a few weeks' time. The "quiet retreat" in which he chooses to pass the evening of life, and to which he invites the Dean, is Cloyne, not Oxford (see above, p. 207).

That a passion for a learned retirement ever strongly possessed his mind is as improbable as that it was one of the motives of the Bermuda project. The supposed attempt to exchange his bishopric for a canonry or "headship" could scarcely have had any solid foundation in fact, and looks like a piece of table-talk; and the alleged letter of resignation could never have been written by a poor man whose widow a few months later applied for state assistance.

The phrase "a learned retirement" occurs in Berkeley's obituary in the *Dublin Journal*, from which Stock no doubt took it. It may have been a pure invention by the journalist. "My Oxford scheme" is mentioned six years earlier by Berkeley as having been delayed by the illness of his son Henry, who was then coming on to university age. Henry seems to have become a permanent invalid (see above, p. 183), and the "scheme"

clearly went into cold storage till George was old enough. The pivot of the Oxford scheme was not "a learned retirement" for himself, but his sons' education, and the letter to Prior (Fraser, *LL*, p. 311), in which he speaks of it shows that the scheme, so far from involving resignation of his bishopric, involved retaining it. He tells Prior in effect that he would have taken the Primacy or the Archbishopric from a sense of duty, but that if he had accepted another see, such as Clogher, he would have had to "remove from Cloyne and set aside my Oxford scheme."

Forty years back he had spent two gay and brilliant months at Oxford, staying at "Mr. Ives's over against All Souls College." Then there had been protracted solemnities in celebration of "the Act," disputations, speeches, declamations, and verses, with "nothing but feasting and music in the several colleges."¹ He had not been there since, and his former friends were gone. But he was not entirely among strangers; for Secker, the Bishop of Oxford, whose sister had married Benson, was his close friend. Benson, the Bishop of Gloucester, and closest of his episcopal friends, died on 30 August of this year, and they did not meet. Another recent blow had been the death of the famous Bishop Butler, whom Secker in 1735 had mentioned to him as "our common friend,"² and who died on 16 June shortly before Berkeley left Ireland. Bishop Conybeare, the Dean of Christ Church, was his friend, and so was Dr. Markham, afterwards Archbishop of York, who composed his epitaph and is said to have been his son's tutor. But of his life in Holywell Street there is virtually nothing on record except the formal statement in Stock's *Life*, "He lived there highly respected by the members of that great university."

Young George Berkeley seems to have had plenty of college friends; amongst them is named George Horne, fellow of Magdalen. A Locke and a Hume, curiously enough, were among his fellow students at Christ Church. According to his wife's account he lived well, indeed extravagantly; he kept horses and entertained; he had a servant to wait on him and a groom for his horses, and "he was imposed on by designing young men to whom he was too bountiful. . . ." One day at Oxford he said to his father, "I am ashamed, my Lord, to say that I have spent

¹ Rand, *B&P*, p. 122. In 1733 he may have had thoughts of going again (see Fraser, *LL*, p. 207); but in 1741 he writes, "My own acquaintance in the universities is very little. At Cambridge I have never passed above two daics. I passed as many months at Oxford, but so long ago as Queen Anne's reign. And all I then knew are since dead or gone." *Hermathena*, vol. xxiii, p. 43. ² Fraser, *LL*, p. 236.

six hundred pounds in four months—here is the account.” The Bishop replied, “Not in vice, I am sure, child,” and threw the account into the fire. The amount at first sight seems incredible ; but a servant and a groom and horses would go a long way to account for it ; and, besides, his routine college accounts show figures two or three times as large as those of other students.¹

The five months’ stay at Oxford did not pass unnoticed in Ireland, where Berkeley was much in the public eye. The *Dublin Journal* for 31 October (N.S.²) reports, “By letters from Oxford we are informed that the Bishop of Cloyne is so well recovered as to be able to go abroad.” There are also other indications in the public press that Berkeley held a position in Irish life comparable to that of Dean Swift a couple of decades earlier. The Trinity College students thought of Swift and Berkeley together (see above, p. 66) ; so did Lord Chesterfield ; and as late as 14 November 1752 the *Dublin Journal* prefaced an article on tillage *versus* pasture with a reference to the opinions of “those great and glorious patriots the Rev. Dr. Swift, D.S.P.D., and the Right Rev. Dr. Berkley Bishop of Cloyne.”

During his lifetime the philosopher was honoured in his own country and in his own university, and he is honoured there still ; but he belonged, and belongs, also to a wider world. His books are read wherever the English tongue is spoken, and his thought is a possession of mankind. It was fitting that he should end his days at Oxford amid “the dreaming spires,” bequeathing to that imperial home of learning the care of his dust and his fame.

Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine . . . in pace. Serenity and quiet beauty marked his passing. His day’s work was done, his task performed ; the grey clouds of sunset were edged with gold, and there was light at eventide.

Samuel Johnson of America once expressed a wish that he “might resemble in the manner of his death his good friend Bishop Berkley, whom he had greatly loved and whose exit he had ever esteemed happy.”³ The end for Berkeley came very

¹ My son has examined the College Books ; see Pref. Monck Berkeley’s *Poems*, p. cccxcvii. ² This year and this autumn are of special interest to chronologists ; for the Act of Parliament of 1751 had prescribed that, “Wednesday the first of January next will begin the year 1752, and the day immediately following the 2nd of September next is not to be called the 3rd, but the 14th of September for this one year 1752.”

³ T. B. Chandler, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, p. 123. I have taken my account of the end from Stock’s *Life* as corrected by the widow in *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd ed., vol. iii, Addenda and Corrigenda. Cf. the obituary in *Gentleman’s Magazine* for January 1753, the account given in the *Works of Thomas Newton*, vol. i (2nd ed.), p. 153, and the *Dublin Journal* for 23 and 27 January and 6 February 1753. The accounts agree in the main.

peacefully, indeed happily. On Sunday evening 14 January the family had gathered round their fireside for tea ; the Bishop was reclining on a couch ; his wife was reading to him ; Julia and George were there. The lection was the triumphant passage from St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, which begins, " Now is Christ risen from the dead," and concludes with the apostrophe, " O death, where is thy sting ? O grave, where is thy victory ? " As he listened Berkeley commented quietly on the noble words, and as he commented he passed away. It was an apoplexy, instantaneous, and gentle as sleep. His daughter had poured him out a cup of tea, and was in the act of handing it to him, when she perceived that he was asleep in death.

In accordance with the instructions in his will the burial was not hurried, and he was interred in the chapel of Christ Church on 20 January, where his wife erected a mural tablet in his memory bearing the following inscription by Dr. Markham : ¹

Gravissimo Praesuli,
 Georgio, Episcopo Clonensi :
 Viro,
 Seu ingenii et eruditionis laudem,
 Seu probitatis et beneficentiae spectemus,
 Inter primos omnium aetatum numerando.
 Si Christianus fueris,
 Si amans patriae
 Utroque nomine gloriari potes,
 BERKLEIUM
 Vixisse.
 Obiit annum agens septuagesimum tertium
 Natus anno Christi M.DCLXXIX
 Anna Conjux
 L.M.P.

Berkeley's philosophy has been so persistently maligned from his day to ours, and his denial of material substance so entirely misrepresented that certain directions in his last will and testament become of decisive importance, and I make no apology for giving it here in full. His hostile critics say, quite wrongly, that

¹ The age and the year of birth are wrongly given. Berkeley was born on 12 March 1685, and he died aged sixty-seven years and ten months. The Christ Church Register has the record : " January ye 20th, 1753, Ye Right Reverend John Berkley [*sic*] Ld Bp of Cloyne was buried." The tablet is against a pillar in the central aisle, north side. Fraser says that it marks the spot where the body was laid.

he did not believe in the reality of sensible body ; had that been so, Berkeley must have held that his own body was unreal, and that the appearance of it, sight, touch, smell, etc., would cease at once on separation from the soul or mind. But Berkeley held no such nonsense. The terms of his will with the solemnity and the crudity of utter conviction and habitual belief affirm both body and soul, and the real existence of the identical body and its sensible appearance for days after death.

The will,¹ signed on 31 July 1752 just before the departure from Cloyne, witnessed by Canon Marmaduke Philips, Rector of Inniscarra, and Richard Bullen, Rector of Kilnemartery, and James Hanning, Registrar of the diocese of Cloyne, was proved in London on 20 January 1753, and administration was granted to the widow. Here are its terms :

In the name of God, Amen. I, George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, being sound of mind and memory, do make this my last Will and Testament.

First, I do humbly recommend my soul into the hands of my blessed Redeemer, by whose merits and intercession I hope for mercy.

As to my body and effects, I dispose of them in the following manner :

It is my will that my body be buried in the church-yard of the parish in which I die :

Item, that the expense of my funeral do not exceed twenty pounds, and that as much more be given to the poor of the parish where I die :

Item, that my body, before it is buried, be kept five days above ground, or longer, even till it grow offensive by the cadaverous smell, and that during the said time it lye unwashed, undisturbed, and covered by the same bed clothes, in the same bed, the head being raised upon pillows :

Item, that my dear wife, Anne, be sole executrix of this my will, and guardian of my children—to which said wife Anne I leave and bequeath all my worldly goods and substance, to be disposed of as to her shall seem good.

Item, it is my will that in case my said wife should die intestate, all my worldly goods, substance, and possessions of what kind soever, shall be equally divided among my children :

¹ The precautions against premature burial are readily intelligible in view of the reports in the newspapers of the day ; see especially the *Dublin Journal* for 4 August and 8 September 1747 ; the former issue gives an extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which states that no sign of death is infallible except putrefaction.

In witness whereof I have herewith put my hand and seal this thirty-first day of July, anno domini, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. George Cloyne.

The Bishop of Oxford befriended the bereaved family, and set Cuddesdon at their service for the summer of 1753. Letters of condolence from him, from Lord Mornington, the grandfather of the Duke of Wellington, and from Bishop Synge, of Elphin, are in the Berkeley Papers. Synge wrote to the son: "It will always give me pleasure to be considered as your good father's friend. I have been so these forty-three years, with exquisite pleasure and great advantage to myself. . . ." He and other Irish bishops joined in a petition to the Irish Revenue Commissioners on the widow's behalf. In 1754 the little family was still in Holywell Street; then they moved to Dublin for a while, and were joined by the eldest son, Henry. He and Julia were delicate, and seem not to have lived long. Mrs. Berkeley subsequently removed to England, and lived for a while with her son George; she died, as stated above, at Langley in Kent, 27 May 1786, in her eighty-sixth year. George continued his college career, and in due course took Holy Orders, and attained a considerable position in the Church of England.¹

Before we leave our theme something should be said of Berkeley's person and personal qualities. Stock wrote: "As to his person, he was a handsome man, with a countenance full of meaning and benignity, remarkable for great strength of limbs, and till his sedentary life impaired it, of a very robust constitution." The later portraits show that benignity, and the features, quietly expressive, of the sage who sees life steadily and whole. The earlier portraits (especially the earliest of all, which forms our frontispiece), stress the man of action, the daring mountaineer, of fine physique, upstanding, tough and hard as nails, who twice made the perilous crossing of the Alps in winter; at which time he wrote of himself: "I am now hardened against wind and weather, earth and sea, frost and snow; can gallop all day long, and sleep but three or four hours at night." In his forties too he carried himself well, and on landing at Newport he was described as "a gentleman of middle stature, of an agreeable, pleasant, and erect aspect." His daughter-in-law speaks of his fine-shaped nose and wonderful strength of wrist, and says that her son had a sweet-toned voice, "which he could at pleasure elevate, like his grand-

¹ see above, p. 183, and the memoir of him in Chalmers's edition (1812-17) of the *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. v, p. 64.

father, Bishop Berkeley, to *tremendous* thunder.”¹ There was nothing soft or namby-pamby about him, unless benevolence and charity are such. He was a strong man, a fighting man, a man of physical and moral courage, who drew his sword and faced a wolf, who stood for an hour or more looking down into the seething crater of Vesuvius in eruption. “I know not what it is to fear,” he once said, “but I have a delicate sense of danger.”²

He valued the arts, especially the pictorial arts; architecture was his special delight, and he himself was an architect and designer. He encouraged and approved of music, but had no ear for it. Of his social charm many have spoken; he was a conversationalist, a man of ready wit, who could adapt his talk to his company.

As a writer he was a master of the English tongue; he wrote plainly and simply, because he thought clearly and knew exactly what he wanted to say. His favourite authors were Plato and Hooker, and like them he was willing to be understood. His early statement about himself remained true for life: “I abstain from all flourish and pomp of words and figures, using a great plainness and simplicity of stile.”³ His greater works are all *good* writing, save for a few careless sections. The *Essay on Vision* and the *Principles* offer little or no scope for *fine* writing, but even in these works the style (as in *Princ.* SS. 6, 146-49) rises noticeably with the theme. The *Three Dialogues* as a composition is almost faultless; in design and diction, for vigour, vividness, and variety, it is beyond praise. The *Alciphron* and the *Siris* contain fine passages, but have not quite the force and grip of the earlier work. His little known, minor controversial pamphlets contain sections which for sheer hard hitting, every word registering, every syllable telling, are a delight (see above, p. 165, for an instance).

He was a man of solid learning, though the very extent of his attainments has blinded some biographers⁴ to the fact. He was not a specialized college don, and he does show a certain impatience with “bearded boys” and “learned dust,” with barren scholarship and trifling speculations. He preferred studies with

¹ Preface, Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, pp. cxxiv, cxxix, ccvi. ² see *Hermathena*, vol. xxxiii, p. 28. ³ *PG* No. 300. ⁴ I am thinking here in particular of some of Prof. Fraser's judgments, e.g. “as a scholar he was accomplished rather than profound” (*LL*, p. 350). “One sometimes feels in Berkeley's company as if playing with speculation . . . want of the feeling of the sublime and awful mystery of the universe, and a defect too of the large grasp of reason . . .” (*ib.*, p. 351). I attribute these mistaken judgments largely to an ignorance of historical fact and a bias against Ireland and Irish education, which show in Fraser's writings, e.g. “Ireland, like Scotland, was in a state of provincial barbarism” (*LL*, p. 62).

a practical bearing, but he took the term *practical* in its broad and enlightened sense, and himself guided his practice throughout life by the widest reading of both ancients and moderns. He was familiar with the classical masterpieces, and they were not just linguistic exercises to him, or funds of quotations ; they were part and parcel of him and his outlook, models of style, canons of art, guides of conduct, pointers to truth. Take his *Philosophical Commentaries*, and compile from it his reading list ; see what he had read and measure the ground he had covered before he was of M.A. standing. He was a classical scholar. He had written a book on mathematics in good Latin. He could discuss the higher mathematics with Barrow and Leibniz and Newton. He had mastered critically the optics of his day, and could say what was wrong with it. He was abreast of the science of his day, had read theology, and could lead philosophy. He had some French and Hebrew, and could write very good English.

And his education continued, as it began. He remained wise for all his learning. He never lost his bearings. He never lost his way in knowledge. He knew what he was doing and where he was going. He was determined to live and to learn consciously, philosophically. He tried to understand, so far as is given to man, this mysterious universe and this more mysterious life. His was a sound early education, and in maturity and age he reaped from it a golden harvest of learning, wisdom, and truth. If such a mind, so educated, is to be termed "accomplished, rather than profound," terms have lost their meaning.

Berkeley wore his wisdom lightly,¹ like the spindle-tree which flowers in its very fruit ; his learning was not ponderous, but it was profound. It had depth. Mere accomplishment and superficial drawing-room wit and polish could never have given him the commanding position he attained. In scholarship, as in other things, his achievement is obscured by its very extent and magnitude. We accept him as a thinker of the first rank, but we find it hard to conceive him as a man of action and affairs, though he persuaded Walpole's parliament to adopt a novel measure for colonial welfare with scarcely a dissentient voice. He was clearly something of a saint ; how then could he be a scholar ? And we forget that Ireland has long bred saints and scholars and those that are both. Yes, he was a classical scholar who moved easily in the languages, the literatures, and the thought of

¹ " Wearing his wisdom lightly, like the fruit
Which in our winter woodland looks a flower."—Tennyson, *A Dedication*.

ancient Greece and Rome—which means that his mathematics was a smattering. But does it? His observations on the calculus are admitted now to have made a positive contribution to the development of mathematical science. Suppose then we make the effort and accept him as both classic and mathematician, that is as far as we feel disposed to go. His economics are not to be taken too seriously, are they? In that field he must have been an amateur. But, no; here too experts recognize him as expert. He was a profound and pioneer economist, “a forerunner of Adam Smith in the transition from mercantilism to a more rational economic creed.”¹

It is then matter of fact that Berkeley was a man of learning as well as a man of action and affairs, and that his learning covered philosophy, classics, mathematics, and economics, not to speak of theology and the chemistry and physics of his day. It is matter of fact that in many fields he was well informed, and that in philosophy, mathematics, and economics he found something new and seminal to say.

His learning generated light, and flashed its beams, like a revolving lighthouse, now on the distant past, now on the immediate present. His thought moved easily and expertly in the great days of old, but could turn in a moment and bring the lessons of antiquity to bear on the problems of the day. With the microscope of introspection he conned the ways and workings of the mind. He took the telescope, and from his ivory tower he searched the heavens and contemplated the world of men and things. In short, he was the scholar-philosopher, with the large outlook of those who habitually take the lofty view and seek the highest truth.

Greek and Latin were the two pillars of his wisdom; classical antiquity formed his background; classical scholarship was the blood-stream of his intellect. He was Plato's friend and Aristotle's friend, but the slave of neither. Greek was more to him than Greek philosophy. Homeric words and the Pindaric racehorse are on the medal that he designed and that bears his name. Dr. Blackwell learned from him in personal contact “his just idea of Homer, and of the reasons and causes of Homer's superior excellence.”² The *exemplaria Graeca* to him were models of thought, models of style, standards of action, things to be loved and lived out. Athenians speak in his dialogues. Attic air and sunshine

¹ *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* (1930), vol. 2, p. 523. ² J. Warton, *Essay on the genius and writings of Pope* (1782), vol. ii, p. 224n.

are in his clarity and sparkle. Pheidias and the Parthenon breathe in the measure and the proportion of his outlook and his utterance.

Berkeley's Latin reading can be gauged by his Latin writing. In composition, that acid test of Latinity, he excelled. He published two books in Latin; he wrote letters in Latin; he wrote a travel log in Latin; for Latin inscriptions—those minor compositions which can tax the knowledge and resource of the greatest scholars—he was in request; he wrote the inscription for Dublin's statue of King George I, and we have his Wainwright epitaph in Chester Cathedral, and his Prior epitaph in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. His books, especially the *Alciphron* and the *Siris*, show that he possessed a knowledge of the highways and the byways of Greek and Latin classics which any classical scholar would respect and most would envy.

The educational promise of his early manhood was, as I have shown above, amazing, and that promise was amply fulfilled when travel and contacts and old experience had done their work in him. In maturity and age Berkeley's learning had all the dimensions, breadth, depth, and height. The competent judges of his own day thought so; they may have questioned his metaphysics, but not his learning. Friends of learning, like Percival, patrons of learning like Pembroke and Bolingbroke, learned critics of learning like Swift (who hated shams), keen intellects like Arbuthnot, creative writers like Addison and Pope, were all agreed that Berkeley was a truly learned man. Such witnesses must be believed. They could not have been permanently deceived in their friend. They could not have mistaken tinsel for silver; they were not dazzled by the glitter and polish and sparkle of mere wit, when they accepted this Irish philosopher as a learned man.¹

Technical detail about his philosophy would be here out of place; but the philosophy in its broad lines is Berkeley's title to fame, and we cannot leave it unmentioned. The best way to measure its influence and assess its reputation is to take the bibliography and see what has been written on it, for and against, during the last two hundred years; the record shows a crescendo of interest, and I doubt if the peak has yet been reached. Berkeley was known as a philosopher of novel views from quite early days;

¹ Pope once paid a very high tribute to Berkeley's learning and judgment by submitting a central feature of his *Essay on Man* to that judgment. Here are his words: "In the moral poem I had written an address to our Saviour, imitated from Lucretius' compliment to Epicurus; but omitted it, by the advice of Dean Berkeley." Warton, *ib.*, p. 295.

but his reputation as such was not established till his return from America, and then it was his theory of vision which caught and held attention. Voltaire and the French school accepted the theory in large part. The Scottish school made it famous, and as late as 1864 it was referred to as "the received theory."¹ Hume was the first leader of thought to appreciate the greatness of Berkeley's metaphysic. In his general outlook and approach, as well as in his doctrine of cause, Hume was influenced by Berkeley, though he did not face boldly the full implications of Berkeley's immaterialism. Sir William Hamilton, John Stuart Mill, and others have been indebted to Berkeley's metaphysic, and have done it justice ; but for the most part British and German philosophers have followed the footsteps of Baxter and Beattie, stupidly treating Berkeley as a sceptic about the world of sense, and vanquishing him with a grin.² During the reign of German idealism the true issue about matter was virtually shelved, but the realism of the twentieth century has made it an acute issue once again, as Bergson explicitly recognized.

Berkeley does not offer an intellectual system of the universe, though perhaps he has placed a key to truth within our reach. Those who judge him by what he has *not* said or *not* attempted find him transparent and superficial. Those who say he is unanswerable, but unconvincing, have probably misunderstood his question, or perhaps they are not open to conviction ; and of course those who enjoy refuting what Berkeley never taught can with Dr. Johnson kick the stone, can *say* they have refuted Berkeley, and can regard themselves as bulwarks of commonsense. The Berkeleyian philosophy opens out into broad and spacious fields of thought ; but the true approach to it is through the strait and narrow way, the wicket gate of immaterialism. It is not a final or a full philosophy ; it is a philosophy of one point, an Archimedean point. Berkeley denied material substance on rational grounds ; and to do so was a great and a philosophical achievement, as all philosophers must admit. He could do so only because he saw the perceptual situation clearly. Aristotle fogged that situation by introducing into it material substance or *matter* (as we call it for short), and Berkeley has told us with clarity, force, and exhaustive thoroughness that we must drop Aristotelian *matter*, if we are not to falsify speculative knowledge at the entrance

¹ T. K. Abbott, *Sight and Touch, an attempt to disprove the received (or Berkeleyian) theory of vision.* ² "And coxcombs vanquish Berkeley with a grin." J. Brown, *Essay on Satire occasioned by the death of Mr. Pope*, l. 224.

gate. If Berkeley is wrong, it is a great man's error. If he is right (as I believe him to be), his was a stroke of genius.

Berkeley's story has often been told, though never before at full length. It must speak for itself. No final paragraph can summarize his achievement. He was a many-sided man, and I cannot pin-point his complex character in a pregnant phrase or two. I cannot draw a thumb-nail sketch of him, nor paint his pen-portrait in a few concluding words. Instead, I will end by asking the question, Why is Berkeley's memory fresh and green after two hundred years? *Usque ego postera crescām laude recens.* The words are true of him. His fame stands higher to-day than ever it did, and, curiously, more is known of him to-day than in any previous generation, perhaps not excepting his own. This accession of fame is due in part to historical accident which has brought hidden documents to light after many days ; but that is not the whole account. There is a touch of the universal and necessary in Berkeley's life and thought which raises both above contingencies of time and place. He climbed high and saw far, and he stands apart and does not date. *Non sibi, sed toti* was his motto. His particularity and his finitude were purged. He put truth first, and his intellect, will, and heart were in tune with truth. He received five talents, and he made them ten. He loved God and man and Church and country, and he could bow his head and kiss the rod. The stamp of the universal is upon the man and upon much of his work ; and hence the widespread and continuing appeal of his life and his thought.

APPENDIX I

THE CHILDREN OF GEORGE AND ANNE BERKELEY

	Birth and Baptism	Remarks
Henry	born c. 12 June 1729 bapt. in Trinity Church, Newport R.I. 1 September 1729	alive in 1756 said to have died in Queen's County
Lucia	born 1731	died (in infancy) 5 September 1731. Buried Newport churchyard
George	born 28 September 1733 in London	died 6 January 1795 Canon of Canterbury Memoir in Chalmers's <i>Biog. Dict.</i> , vol. v., 1812
John	born at Cloyne bapt. 11 April 1735	buried at Cloyne 16 October 1735
William	born at Cloyne bapt. 10 December 1736	buried at Cloyne 3 March 1751
Julia	born at Cloyne bapt. 15 October 1738	alive in 1756 said to have died unmarried
Sarah	born at Cloyne 1739-40	buried at Cloyne 24 March 1740

Notes on the Records

Henry—Letters and Newport Parish Records (Updike)

Lucia—Newport epitaph (Kay gravestone)

George—Memoir as above. Letters etc.

The particulars of John, William, Julia, and Sarah, given above, are for the most part taken from the Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Records of Cloyne Cathedral (1708-47).

Some of the entries are not now decipherable, and Sarah's baptism may be amongst them. The "1739" in her burial entry is "Old Style." Fraser (*LL*, p. 262) gives 26 March 1740, and Brady (*Records*, vol. iii, p. 119) gives 4 March 1740 as date of the burial. From some source which I cannot now trace I have 4 March 1740 as the date of Sarah's birth.

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE SWIFT-BERKELEY FRIENDSHIP

"Bermudas goes low": Swift to Robert Cope of Loughall Manor, Co. Armagh, 1 June 1723 in allusion to Berkeley's scheme. Elrington Ball, *Swift's Letters*, vol. iii, p. 166.

"Whomever I see that comes from Ireland, the first question I ask is after your health of which I had the pleasure to hear very lately from Mr Berkeley." Gay to Swift, 22 December 1722. *ib.*, p. 144.

14 August 1725 Swift to the Earl of Oxford expressing pleasure that the earl had countenanced Berkeley: "He is a true philosopher and an excellent scholar, but of very visionary virtue, and is endeavouring to quit a thousand pounds a year for a hundred at Bermudas." *ib.*, p. 262.

24 July 1725 Bolingbroke tells Swift that Ford had brought Berkeley to see him; two days later Harley writes to Swift: "I inquire of you sometimes of Dean Berkeley." *ib.*, p. 260.

15 October 1725 Pope to Swift: "Dean Berkeley is well and happy in the prosecution of his scheme." *ib.*, p. 283.

8 November 1726 Arbuthnot jests with Swift about the expected war; they must rig out a privateer for the West Indies, "we will build her at Bermudas and get Mr Dean Berkeley to be our manager. . . ." *ib.*, p. 358.

April 1732 Pope to Swift, and 18 July Bolingbroke to Swift, speak of Berkeley's *Alciphron*. *ib.*, vol. iv, pp. 291, 321.

16 May 1732 Gay to Swift: "I have not seen Dean Berkeley, but have read his book, and like many parts of it, but in general think with you that it is too speculative." *ib.*, p. 302.

31 October 1735 Donnellan to Swift from Cloyne; he had received the living of Inniscarra from Berkeley, "worth at least £300 *per annum* . . . is made much more valuable and agreeable by the manner in which it was bestowed, and especially by coming from a person whom you have an esteem for. . . . The Bishop of Cloyne desires you will accept of his best services." *ib.*, vol. v, p. 256.

When Swift received the freedom of the city of Cork, he may have gone on to visit Berkeley at Cloyne. It is reported that they met there. *ib.*, vol. iv, pp. 295, 302, 321; cf. C. B. Gibson, *History of Cork*, vol. ii, p. 445.

The Queen asked Lord Wilmington why Berkeley was unpopular in Ireland (presumably at the time the Lord Lieutenant reported against his candidature for the deanery of Down); Wilmington replied: "He could not tell unless that he was very great with Dean Swift." Rand, *B&P*, p. 287.

The Drapier Letters and other of Swift's writings strongly influenced Berkeley's politics and economics. The outlook of the *Querist* is Swiftian.

Mrs. Anne Berkeley, the widow, to her son: "He (the Bishop) was also pure

in heart and speech ; no wit could season any kind of dirt to him, not even Swift's." (See above, p. 181.)

"The only metaphysical works in English which Swift possessed were Berkeley's, and these, almost certainly, were friendly gifts, for which the author could hardly, in this instance, expect sympathetic or diligent reading." Swift's library contained the *Theory of Vision*, the *Three Dialogues*, *Discourse addressed to Magistrates*, and the *Alciphron*. Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library*, p. 78.

Swift's poem *The Storm* contains friendly humorous references to Berkeley and Bermuda :

Believed it best to condescend
To spare a foe, to save a friend ;
But fearing Berkeley might be scared,
She left him Virtue for a guard.

J. M. Hone thinks that somewhere Swift has classed Berkeley among his ungrateful friends. Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, p. 88.

20 January 1726 Berkeley to Prior : "All the papers relating to Mrs V. Homburgh's affairs were in the closet ; and this I understand you have broke open, as likewise my bed-chamber (which last, having none of these papers in it, but only things of another nature, I had given no directions for breaking it open) ; but I do not find the effect I proposed from it, viz. a clear account of the debts transmitted hither. . . ." This closet and bed-chamber are not, I think, mentioned elsewhere. Where were they ? In the college ? Not very likely ; he had resigned his fellowship eighteen months previously, and Prior could hardly forcibly enter college chambers. In Prior's house ? And what were "the papers" ? Just Vanessa's bills, or Swift's letters, or copies of her letters to Swift, or even a manuscript of *Cadenus and Vanessa* ?

APPENDIX III (a)

Newport, Rhode Island, Land Evidence Records, vol. 9, pp. 10, 11, 12

Conveyance : Whipple to Berkeley
(transcribed by N. M. Isham, Wickford R.I.)

To all Christian People to Whom ys presents shall come Joseph Whipple of Newport in the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Merchant sendeth Greeting

Know ye that ye said Joseph Whipple for and in consideration of the sum of Twenty five hundred pounds in currant money of New England to him —d truly paid by George Berkeley D.D. Dean of Derry

Ireland at and befor the ensealing & delivery of the receipt whereof the sd Joseph Whipple doth acknowledge and thereof doth acquit & discharge the Berkeley his heires, execut and Administ and every by these presents hath Granted bargained & sold Enfeoffed and Con—ed and by these presents for himself & his

and absolutely grant bargain sell alien enfeoff confirm unto the sd George Berkeley his heires & assigns use stable and crib and certain tract of land to ng and belonging containing about ninty six acres more or less and consisting of one orchard arable pasture and meadow and woodland, scituate lying and being in Newport afforesd and bounded Northerly partly on land of James Barker and partly on School land Easterly by a highway and partly by a small peice of land of about half a quarter of an acre with a house thereon Southerly by a highway and Westerly by land in the possession of the widow Turner Together with all rights profit previledges & appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining with the reversion and remainder thereof and all the estate right title property claims and demand whatsoever of him the said Joseph Whipple in and unto the premises and every part and parcel thereof To have and to hold the sd tract of land dwelling house stable crib and premises hereby granted with the Appurtenances and every part thereof unto the sd George Berkeley his assigns to the sole proper use and behoof of the Berkeley his heires and assigns forever And the sd Joseph Whipple for himself his heires Execut and Adminisr doth covenant p grant to and with the sd George Berkeley his heires & assigns these presents that he the sd George Berkeley his heires & ass and may from time to time and at all times hereafter quietly have hold use occupie possess and enjoy the sd dwelling house stable and othere premises hereby G the lawfull lett suit trouble E on or disturbance the sd Joseph Whipple his assigns or of any othere persons whatsoever now having or claiming or that shall e or lawfully claime any estate right title or therein or thereunto or to any part thereof free a freely and clearly acquitted and discharged of and f bargains sailes mortgages joynthers

dowers judgments incumbrances whatsoever hereto for had
made or sd Joseph Whipple or any other person or persons
wha Moreover the sd Joseph Whipple for himself his heirs
Adminisr doth covenant promise and grant to and Berkeley his
heires and assignes that he and they will the sd George Berkeley
his heires and assigne the afore land and premises with the appurte-
nances against all p by these presents

And Sarah the wife of the above Joseph Whipple doth by these
presents freely and volluntarily resign quit claim and surrender up unto th
George Berkeley his heires & assignes all her right of
dower and power of d and all othere demands wch she hath or here-
after might have to the above bargained peice of land and premisses or any
part thereof In Witness Whereof the sd Joseph Whipple & Sarah his wife
have hereunto set their hands & seals the eighteenth day of February in the
second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King of
Great Brittain &c Annoque Domni 1728.

Scaled and Deld

Joseph Whipple S

Sarah Whipple S

(In the pres)ence of
(? Danic)l Updike
y Bennett

Newport Febry 19th day A D 1729

Then personally appeared Joseph Whipple and Sarah Whipple above
named & acknowledged the above written Instrument to be there volluntary
act & deed and that they exccuted the same

Coram John Coddington Just of Peace

Recorded Febry 26 1728

Pr W Coddington Town Clk

APPENDIX III (b)

Newport (R.I.) Town Records, vol. 3, pp. 69, 70, 71

Conveyance : Berkeley to Yale College
(transcribed by N. M. Isham, Wickford R.I.)

This Indenture made the twenty sixth day of July in the sixth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God King of Great Brittain France & Ireland Defender of the Faith etc and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred thirty & two Between George Berkeley Doctor of Divinity Dean of Derry in ye Kingdom of Ireland of the one part and the president and Fellows of Yale Colledge in New Haven in the province of Conecticut in America of the other part

Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings of lawfull money of Great Brittain to the said George Berkeley by the said President and Fellows in hand paid at and before the ensealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and for divers other good causes and considerations he the said George Berkeley hath granted bargained & sold and by these presents doth grant bargain and sell unto the said President and Fellows and their successors All that messuage tennement or dwelling house stable and crib and a certain tract of land to the same adjoynning and belonging Containing about ninety six acres be the same more or less and consisting of one orchard and the rest ariable pasture & meadow & woodland scituate lying and being in Newport in the Collony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations And is bounded Northerly partly on land now or late of James Barker and partly on Schoolland, Easterly by a highway and partly by a small peice of land of about half a quarter of an acre with a house thereon Southerly by a highway. And Westerly by land now or late in the possession of the widow Turner Together with all rights profits priviledges and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining and the reversion and reversions remainder and remainders thereof and all the estate right title property claims and demand whatsoever of him the sd George Berkeley of in and unto the sd premises and every part & parcel thereof to have and to hold the sd dwelling house stable tract of land and premisses hereby granted bargained & sold with their and every of their appurtenances unto the sd President and Fellows and their successors forever under and subject to the conditions provisoes & powers and under the rules and orders herein after mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the same ; that is to say that they the President and Fellows and their successors doe and shall cause or pay and apply the cleare yearly rent and profit of the sd premisses from time to time as the same shall become due and payable as they shall receive the same they the said President & Fellows and their successors respectively first deducting thereunto all such reasonable costs and charges as they or any of them shall from time to time & at any time hereafter incur sustain or be put unto

in the execution of the trust hereby in them reposed, to two students of the said Colledge towards their maintenance and subsistence during the time between their first and second degree such students during that space of time being hereby obliged to reside at least three quarters of each year between their first & second degree in the sd Colledge And that the sd students be elected on the sixth day of May if not on a Sunday but if it shall happen on a Sunday then the election to be on the day following Such election to be performed by the President as head of the Colledge for the time being Joyntly with the senior episcopal missionary of that Collony for the time being that is to say he that hath been longest upon the mission in the said collony the candidates to be publickly examined by the sd President & Senior Missionary two houres in the morning in Greek and in the afternoon two houres in Latin On the day of election all persons having free access to hear the said examination And it is hereby declared and intended and it is the true intent and meaning of the said George Berkeley that those who appeare to be the best scholer upon their said examination be without favour or affection elected And in case of a division of sentiment in the electors, the election to be determined by lot And if the senior episcopal clergyman cannot attend then the next in seniority to be entituled to elect And if none of the episcopal clergy of the Collony shall attend at such election then & in such case the election to be performed by the President of the sd Colledge for the time being provided always that if at any time or times hereafter any difficulty dispute or difference shall happen to arise concerning the due election of the said two students in manner as afforesaid, that then and every such case the power of explaining such difficulty dispute or difference is hereby [reserved] to the sd George Berkeley provided always and it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of these presents and the party thereunto that in case the said rules and orders concerning the sd election and the application of the rents and profit of the sd premisses be not duly from time to time observed that then and in that case the grant of the sd premisses to the sd President and Fellows hereby made shall cease determine & be void

In witness whereof the party first above named have hereunto set their hand & seal the day & year first above written

Sealed and Delivered in
the presence of being first
stampd with a treble sixpenny stamp
Robert Gill
James Roxbrugh.

George Berkeley seal

To all to whom these presents shall come We Francis Child Esqr Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the city of London send greetings Know yee that on the day of the date hereof in the Kings Majestys Court holden befor us in the chamber of the Guild Hall of the said city personally come and appeared James Roxbrugh of Lincolns Inn in the County of Middlesecks Gent being a person well known and worthy of good credit and did by solemn oath wch he took upon the Holy Evangillist of Almighty God before us then and there solemnly declare testifie and depose to be true that he was present and did see George Berkeley by the name and addition of George Berkeley Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Derry in the Kingdom of Ireland seal and as his act and deed deliver to the uses and purposes therein mentioned and contained ye parchment indenture now exheibited unto him the sd deponant whole & un-

defaced & uncanceled bearing date this twenty six day of July instant made or mentioned to be made between the sd Doctor George Berkeley of the one part and the President & Fellows of Yale Collidge in New Haven in the province of Connecticut in America of the othere part And that he the sd deponant as a witness to the sealing and delivery thereof did thereupon witness & indorse his name as thereby it doth & may appear

In faith & testimony whereof we the sd Lord Mayor & Aldermen have caused the seal of the office of Mayoralty of the said citty of London to be thereunto put and affixed and the sd parchment indenture to be thereunto annexed dated in London the 26 day of July Anno Domi 1732 in the sixth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the grace of God King of Great Brittain &c Defender of the Faith &c

Jackson

Recorded Decr 29 1732¹

W Coddington Town Clerk

¹ Fraser (*LL*, p. 192ff.) notes that Yale possesses two instruments of the conveyance, one dated 26 July 1732 (i.e. the one transcribed above from the Newport records) and the other dated 17 August 1733. He gives the latter in a footnote. The second deed gives a more precise description of Yale corporation; it directs that three students shall benefit, not two; and the title "scholars of the house" is to be bestowed on them. Otherwise the two deeds are in agreement. Fraser transcribes the second deed *ib*.

APPENDIX IV

ICONOGRAPHY

GENERAL NOTE

THERE are nine old paintings of Berkeley, known to me, with claims to be regarded as contemporary, and of these, seven for certain, and perhaps eight, are distinct original works. In addition there are, or have been, four paintings with some claim to recognition, though standing in different categories. I have numbered them all in straight series from one to thirteen, thus giving each a measure of recognition; but I have broken them into two groups, Contemporary Portraits (Nos. 1-9), and Posthumous, Recorded, and Doubtful Portraits (Nos. 10-13), thus indicating that they do not all rank alike. Perhaps No. 8 should be transferred to the other group, but because of its age and interest I have not done so. The Vanderbanks (Nos. 6, 7, 8) form a difficult sub-group; other classifications were possible, but the method adopted is, I think, the clearest and fairest, and the one most likely to elicit the facts which may enable future scholarship to determine their mutual relations more precisely.

I have arranged them all in the time order of painting in so far as I know it. Those of the early episcopate (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8), or their originals, must have been done about the same time, and I have placed the Lambeth portrait first of these only because in it the Bishop looks to me more alert than in the Vanderbanks.

The number of extant paintings of Berkeley, not to speak of the engravings, is remarkable. Some of them we owe to his friendship with Smibert, some, no doubt, to his friends' pride in his preferment, and some to his posthumous fame. The contemporary portraits, collected in copy, make a small gallery of great interest to his admirers, illustrating nearly thirty years of the philosopher's mature life, from *c.* 1717 to *c.* 1745; and there we can still see him on canvas in his early prime, in middle life as Dean, and in both the earlier and the later days of his episcopate.

Professor A. C. Fraser's note on the portraits (*LL*, p. 348*n*) was of great use to me as a starting-point; but it needs much correction and amplification, and my account, both in conception and in detail, is very largely new. Where (as in most cases) I have myself seen the item, I have said so. Fraser hardly ever tells you what he has seen, and the omission makes it difficult to use his list.

I have received friendly help and advice from Sir Henry Hake, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, London, and from Mr. C. K. Adams, his assistant, from Dr. G. Furlong, Director of the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, and from Mr. B. Macnamara, Registrar, from Dr. Hearn, Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, from Mr. and Mrs. G. F.-H. Berkeley of Hanwell Castle, Banbury, from Miss Beatrix Berkeley of Bordon, from Yale University Library, from the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, New-

port, R.I., and from Miss Frances Hubbert, the Librarian. The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Canon E. W. P. Archdale, the Rev. H. K. Archdall, and Mr. Mervyn Archdale of Castle Archdale, have kindly replied to my inquiries.

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS

(Description and History)

No. 1. Oil painting, 28 in. high \times 22 in. wide, artist unknown ; seen by me at Hanwell Castle, Banbury, 9 December 1947.

Head and shoulders to elbow ; body facing right ; head turned to front in rather more than three-quarter ; wig fair to light brown ; complexion rosy ; white shirt ; white soft collar or cravat well up neck ; no bands ; erect poise ; on back of stretcher is pasted (probably by Robert Berkeley, Q.C.) a piece of paper with the words, "George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne, painted in Rome before he was ordained." The "before he was ordained" is a mistake, probably a hasty inference from the absence of bands and distinctive clerical dress. Berkeley was made deacon in 1709, aged nearly 25 ; in the portrait he is in his early thirties. He visited northern Italy for the first time, for a short while, in 1714, and paid lengthy visits to Rome in 1717 and 1718. In view of the family tradition that the portrait was painted in Rome, it is of interest to note that Smibert, the artist, who painted Nos. 2, 3, and 4, went to Italy in 1717 and met Berkeley there.

From Mrs. Sackville Hamilton, daughter of Dr. Robert Berkeley, the Bishop's brother, the portrait came to Robert Berkeley, Q.C. of Dublin (Fraser, *LL*, p. 348n) ; thence to his son, Major George Sackville Berkeley, R.E., whose son, George Fitz-Hardinge Berkeley, is the present owner.

Reproduced as frontispiece in Fraser's *Berkeley* (Blackwood, 1881, where see Preface), in an oval frame, surmounted by scroll inscribed *Mens agitat molem* ; in the same form it appears in *The Cathedral Church of St. Colman's, Cloyne* (1937), by Dean H. F. Berry. T. Lorenz is said to have reproduced it as frontispiece of one of his books. The frontispiece of the present work is from a photograph of the original portrait.

No. 2. Oil painting, 39½ in. high \times 29½ in. wide, by J. Smibert, signed and dated ; in National Portrait Gallery, London, since 1882 ; seen by me 8 December 1947.

(Description given in the catalogue of 1888) "A half-length figure, the size of life, seated towards the right in a wooden arm-chair, wearing a black gown and a plain black turban-like cap which partially covers the ear. Long clerical bands are attached to a plain white cravat, and hang down in front. His round closely-shaven face is seen in three-quarters turned towards the right. No hair is visible on the temples, and his eyebrows are very dark, broad, and bushy. The large dark eyes are turned to the spectator ; the lips are full and of a rich crimson colour. He points forward to the right with his right hand and rests his left on the top of a closed volume. Behind his figure is a plain stone wall, and to the right is seen a rocky coast with vegetation across an expanse of calm blue water. On the background, above his left hand, are the remains of a signature and date."

Signature and date are quite plain now, viz. "John Smibert, p. 1728" ; there is a slight difficulty here ; for Winter (1840, see his letter below), Fraser (1871), and the catalogue of 1888 give 1725, and Sir George Scharf, Director,

in the Annual Report for 1882, makes the statement, quoted above, about "the remains of a signature and date." The catalogue of 1896 gives the date as 1728. Probably a good cleaning shortly before 1896 brought out clearly the date which was left obscure when Winter "restored" it. Either date would suit the biographical facts, but the later date is better; for Berkeley went to lodge with Smibert in Covent Garden in or from August 1726, and they sailed together to America in September 1728. The finger pointing over the water no doubt symbolizes that enterprise.

From Canon George Berkeley, the Bishop's son, the portrait passed to his former curate, the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, Vicar of Teston, Kent, on whose death it was sold by auction for £10 to Mr. I. Winter, a distant relative of the widow. About 1840 Winter sold it for the same amount to someone, apparently the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, who gave it to the Rev. Prebendary William Josiah Irons, D.D., Rector of Wadingham, who owned it in 1871, when Fraser wrote of it, and who gave it to the National Portrait Gallery in February 1882.

Reproduced as frontispiece of G. Sampson's edition (1897) of Berkeley's works, and in B. Rand, *Berkeley and Percival* (1914, opp. p. 217).

The National Portrait Gallery, London, has the original of the following letter, which I have seen and here reproduce by kind permission of the Director :

Maidstone
May 21st 1840

Dear Sir,

On the right side of the picture immediately over the hand supported by a book is written "John Smibert 1725."

The writing is not however as strong and conspicuous as German text and requires a strong light nearly approaching to sun shine to be readily made out. Heckford who lined and cleaned it overlooked the name of the Painter and unluckily rendered the letters still fainter and the two last figures of the date actually rubbed out; so that when it was returned back I was obliged to restore them (see the 25 with my pen, as by a strong light you will perceive).

The picture was sold by auction at the death of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, late vicar of Teston, whose widow, distantly related to me, assured me that he had been Curate to Dr. Berkeley, the Bishop's son for many years and that on the death of the Dr. both his own and his father's portrait were left him. This is the whole history of this picture as far as I possess it, and in looking over my papers I find that on disposing of it for £10 I am minus £1 gs. od. not including the packing case. I mention this to satisfy you that I have not been playing the sharper with you. I have, I trust, no inclination to practise deception towards another, tho' often guilty I fear of practising it upon myself—when the portrait was taken down so fresh and beautiful was its appearance even at a near sight that I concluded you would have been enraptured with it, and I still encourage the hope that after this explanation it will win upon you.

I am very truly your,
(sgd.) I. Winter

P.S. In one of the volumes¹ of the Gentleman's Magazine in my possession there are two letters of Bp. Berkeley addressed to his friend

¹ [vol. ci, 1831, p. 99; there is only one letter to *Smibert*.—Ed.]

Smibert in America wishing him to return to England which I mention as incidental evidence in favour of the authenticity of this portrait.

Smibert was an artist much patronized by the Bishop and accompanied him to America.

No. 3. Oil painting, 30 in. high \times 25 in. wide, by J. Smibert; in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. (from a photograph seen by me). Head and shoulders to elbow; facing right, three-quarter face; grayish-white wig, cravat, bands, and black gown; features seem to me somewhat younger than those of No. 4; at any rate it must belong to the period before he was a bishop. According to the catalogue, it was painted in 1728 on the voyage to America; presented by Thos. Wetmore in 1836, and restored by Darius Chase in 1845. Not mentioned by Fraser.

No. 4. Oil painting, 69½ in. high \times 93 in. wide; group, "The Dean and his Companions," painted by Smibert in Boston, 1731; seen by me at Yale, October 1933.

Standing (left to right): John Smibert, John Moffat, John James, Dean Berkeley; sitting (left to right): Richard Dalton, Miss Handcock, Mrs. Anne Berkeley, Henry Berkeley (infant on knee).

The Dean on right in wig, white bands, and black gown, dominates the group; his right hand holds a book upright on the table; he appears to be dictating, and at the other end of the table Dalton takes down his words with a quill pen in a volume open before him.

Said to have been painted at Boston during the ten days the Berkeleys spent there in September 1731, on the eve of their return to England; long preserved in the Smibert studio, Boston, it was acquired in 1808 by Yale University, where it now hangs in the Trumbull Hall.

The Dean's head from it was copied in oils on canvas (30 in. \times 25 in.) by Alfred Hart of Hartford, Conn., and presented in 1858 by C. H. Olmsted to the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport, R.I., where it now hangs; another copy by Pratt is in the Sayles Hall at Brown University. A smaller version (25 in. high \times 30 in. wide) of the group, said to be by Smibert himself, was purchased in 1897 for £75 by the National Gallery, Dublin, from T. Mossop of Hampstead. (No. 466, with a key.)

The group is reproduced in this volume opposite p. 149; as frontispiece in B. Rand's *Berkeley's American Sojourn*. The single figure of the Dean from it forms the frontispiece in both of Fraser's editions of the works.

No. 5. Oil painting, 49 in. high \times 39 in. wide, artist unknown; in Lambeth Palace, London, where I saw it 9 December 1947.

Standing figure seen to the knees; body turned half-right; face almost full; complexion ruddy; brown wig, bands, lawn sleeves, and episcopal robes; right hand holds a book inscribed "Voyage to the Indies"; left hand rests on table, which has a blue-green cover; above the left hand is a window through which is seen a ship in full sail on a rough sea. On the canvas is the dim inscription: Georgius Berkely [*sic*] S.T.P. Consecr. Ep. Cleonensis May 19. 1733 [*sic*].

At the office I was informed that nothing is on record there as to the history of the portrait; from Cooke's engraving we know that the portrait

was at Lambeth in 1781; in 1797 Mrs. Eliza Berkeley wrote (see below, p. 245) that Archbishop Secker often asked her husband to present their Vanderbank to Lambeth, "where there is already a very good portrait of Bp. B." There are several engravings of it, including Cooke's of 1781 and Freeman's of c. 1847, (see below, p. 248).

No. 6. Painting by John Vanderbank (Johan van der Banck); known to me only by Skelton's engraving of it, (see below, p. 249).

A picture rather than a portrait, but very striking; in two sections united by folds of the robes; right section is larger and shows the Bishop seated to below the knees; body turned half-left, and the head directed slightly more to the left; all the fingers of both hands are spread out; left wrist appears to rest on arm of chair, and the hand hangs down; right hand comes across towards left and rests on lap; wig, bands, and full episcopal robes, the lawn sleeves being carefully studied and delicately drawn; top of armchair is seen; behind left elbow is a draped table on which a volume of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* appears; wall behind ends at the centre of the canvas in a square pillar supporting the one end of the arch over the doorway or window. The left section shows the other square pillar with arch, and through the arch the frontispiece of Berkeley's *Alciphron*, which forms the *motif* of the left section, and is so strongly emphasized that it takes attention away from the portrait proper. From a high rock a stream of water gushes and falls into a bason on a pedestal, spilling over; outside in the background are three men working with tools at the "broken cisterns" and behind them are hills with a castle and three trees. The rock, bason, and pedestal stretch from top to bottom of the canvas on the left section; in No. 7 this part is on a much smaller scale, the base of the pedestal ending at the window-sill half-way down the canvas.

The picture is dated approximately by the prominence given to the frontispiece of the *Alciphron*, which appeared in 1732; it is dated more narrowly by the fact that Berkeley was appointed bishop in January 1734, and left London for Dublin at the end of April. Vanderbank (1694-1739, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) did not visit Ireland, and if he painted the Bishop from sittings he must have done so, it would seem, in London between January and April 1734.

Fraser speaks of "a remarkable picture of Berkeley, said to be by Vanderbank, in his lawn sleeves, with the 'broken cisterns' which form the frontispiece of *Alciphron* in the background." He says it came "into the possession of the late Sir David Brewster, in whose house at Allerly I had an opportunity of seeing it." Fraser uses *picture* in opposition to *engraving*, and it seems certain that he here refers either to No. 6 or to No. 7; I think he is speaking of No. 7; for if he had seen No. 6 at Allerly and were speaking of it, he could hardly have identified it by the broken cisterns in the background, and have made no mention of the fountain of living water, which is in the foreground and far more prominent than the cisterns. In No. 7, however, the whole *Alciphron* *motif* is subordinated, and unless one saw the portrait newly cleaned or in bright light, one would not notice the fountain at all; for years I looked almost daily at the *cisterns* without noticing the *fountain*. It is just possible that Fraser saw yet a fourth Vanderbank; but *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*, and I prefer to think that Fraser saw No. 7 at Allerly (he does not say he actually saw it), heard it was for sale, told the authorities of Trinity College

about it when he visited Dublin in the spring of 1870, and that they bought it in November of that year ; but this suggestion of mine is not to be taken as ascertained fact, and I must add that since I wrote the above, I have seen a very old photograph of a portrait of Berkeley, exactly corresponding to No. 7. The photograph was given to Dr. Mervyn Archdall, when he was Bishop of Killaloe (1897-1912), and on the back of the photograph were written (before the gift) the words, "Photograph of portrait of Bp. Berkeley at Corbally Quinn Co Clare, belonging to T. G. S. Mahon." That looks as if No. 7 had been in Ireland for a very long time, and it remains a possibility, in spite of my argument to the contrary, that Brewster's Vanderbank which Fraser had an opportunity of seeing was No. 6.

No. 7. Oil painting, 49 in. high \times 40 in. wide ; in Regent House, Trinity College, Dublin ; seen by me often ; according to W. G. Strickland, *A descriptive catalogue of the pictures, busts, and statues in Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Provost's House* (1916), the artist is unknown ; but I think it must be by or after Vanderbank ; for its resemblance to No. 6 is marked.

Both have the *Alciphron* motif in spite of great difference in treatment and emphasis. In No. 6 it occupies nearly half the canvas, competing for attention with the portrait ; in No. 7 it barely occupies one-ninth of the canvas, and is a subordinate feature seen through a window. In both portraits the three men in the background are identical in attitude, and are using similar tools. Posture, expression of features, direction of body and head, robes, etc. are very similar in both, though in No. 6 he is leaning forward slightly, and looking more left, while in No. 7 the face is a little fuller ; the chairs differ ; there is no table in No. 7, and in it bookcases, not a wall, are behind the figure ; the hands differ remarkably ; in No. 7 they are more natural ; fingers are not spread ; right hand hangs down correctly from arm of chair ; left hand holds book against knee, with finger inserted between leaves ; in No. 7 pillar is round, not square. The originality and vigour of No. 6 strike the observer at once ; but compared as portraits No. 7 is superior to No. 6 in composition, balance, and dignity. Reproduced above, opposite p. 180.

No. 7 has been relined, and must have lost two inches or so on the left side, rendering the rock, bason, and pedestal incomplete.

Strickland (*ib.*) says that the portrait was purchased in 1870 from Mr. Jones for fifty guineas, and the College Register (vol. xii) under 12 November 1870 has the minute : Agreed to purchase a portrait of Bishop Berkeley offered to the College for sale for £50. In the same volume see under dates, 16 December 1865, 24 October 1868 (N.B.—the portrait), 26 June 1869 for relevant Berkeleyana.

The following letter (A.L.S. in the Library, Trinity College, Dublin) gives further proof that Vanderbank painted Berkeley, though it does not explain the relations between the Vanderbanks, nor enable us to judge which Vanderbank is here offered. The writer is Mrs. Eliza Berkeley, widow of Canon George Berkeley, the Bishop's son ; she is addressing the Provost and Senior Fellows.

Reverend Sirs and Gentlemen

My late dear husband the Revd Doct
Berkeley Prebendary of Canterbury, son of the late Lord Bishop of
Cloyne, having most generously appointed me sole executrix of his

Will, and having bequeathed to me all his fine collection of pictures etc—I trouble you with this to beg to know, whether a very remarkably fine, universally admired, portrait of Bishop Berkeley in his lawn-sleeves etc painted by that famous artist Vanderbank which together with its frame (now much broken by frequent removals) cost five hundred pounds—the background the frontispiece to his Lordship's Minute Philosopher—and the broken cisterns from the prophet Jeremiah—"They have hewn them out broken cisterns." The late Archbishop of Canterbury was perpetually intreating Docr Berkeley to present it to the gallery at Lambeth Palace, where there is already a very good portrait of Bp. B. But *justice* to my dear excellent son, then living, as Dr B. told his Grace precluded a possibility of his complying with his request.

If this picture will be an acceptable present to the Rev. the Provost and the gentlemen Fellows of the University of Dublin—it is now offered for their acceptance as a most grateful acknowledgement for the very high honour they were pleased so graciously to confer on his Lordship's only descendant, the late learned accomplished George Monck Berkeley Esqre Gentleman Commoner of Magdalene Hall in the University of Oxon—and student of the Inner Temple, London, from his very sincerely grateful Mother.

Some time after the death of his son Docr Berkeley told me that at my death he wished the wonderfully fine portrait of his father to be presented to some place of consequence—I immediately replied "To Dublin College"—He said they have one already; perhaps it would be well to leave it as an heirloom to the episcopal palace at Cloyne—I said perhaps the gentlemen of Dublin College would prefer this, esteemed one of the very finest pieces of painting in Europe. The face certainly looks more like a fine cast in wax—than a painting on canvas as numbers of the best judges have always exclaimed on seeing it.

I request Dr Berkeley's noble relation, the excellent Lord Molesworth now on a visit in Ireland to deliver this—and to learn from the Provost and Gentlemen of the university of Dublin whether it would be agreeable to them to receive this and transfer the one they at present have to Docr Berkeley's highly respected friend the present Bishop of Cloyne for the Palace—Lord Molesworth will have the goodness to receive and transmit the answer of the Provost and Gentlemen to her who has the honour to subscribe herself with the most perfect respect their very sincerely grateful, and (thro' her unspeakably dear excellent son) most highly obliged humble servant

(sgd) Eliza Berkeley

Chertsey Surrey England the 28th of Febr 1797

Dr. J. H. Todd published this letter in *Notes and Queries*, 1853, p. 428. He says the letter came into his possession among the papers of a private friend; that there is no mention of the letter or the gift in the College Register; that the picture is neither in the College, nor at Cloyne; and he concludes that Mrs. Berkeley must have changed her mind, or that by some accident the letter was never presented. Dr. Todd asks, Where is the picture now? I looked through some subsequent numbers of *Notes and Queries* and did not see any replies.

If the letter was delivered at the time, the Board might well have hesitated to accept the offer which was not unconditional. Could they, even had they wished to do so, have transferred to Cloyne "the one they have at present"? And what was that one? This last question is hard to answer (see below under Nos. 11 and 12).

Vanderbank's Sir Isaac Newton, in the rooms of the Royal Society, is well-known still, and it does not seem likely that a Vanderbank Berkeley which Skelton engraved c. 1800 and which, it would seem, Archbishop Secker had desired for the gallery at Lambeth, could be permanently lost and I have here recorded the relevant facts in so far as I know them, in the hope of aiding future scholarship to answer the questions about it asked here, but left unanswered.

No. 8. Oil painting, 48 in. high \times 42 in. wide; long in the possession of the Berkeley family; seen by me at Deoli, Headley, Bordon, Hants, 8 December 1947; artist unknown, but see on No. 10; after Vanderbank.

In posture, direction of body and head, position of arms, hands, fingers, the book, and the round pillar, No. 8 corresponds exactly with No. 7, and seems to be a replica of it. No. 8 is now two inches wider, but as explained above, No. 7 was originally of the same width. The only differences I could see are (a) a general amateurishness and hesitancy in the execution of No. 8, including a defect in the painting of one of the bands, and (b) the dim painting on the upper portion of the canvas of No. 8 of the words: "Georgius Berkeley Episcopus Clonensis."

Fraser wrote of it as having been the property of the Bishop's grandnephew, General Sackville Berkeley, and as "now possessed by his son, the Rev. Sackville Berkeley." In point of fact the Rev. Sackville Berkeley housed the portrait for his elder brother, but was not the actual owner. It then passed to Major-General James C. Berkeley, whose daughter, Miss Beatrix Berkeley, showed me the portrait, and tells me that she holds it for her nephew, Lieut.-Colonel Jocelyn Berkeley, the present owner.

It is possible, and, I almost think, probable that No. 8 is No. 10, but I cannot say that the identification is established. Before the theory occurred to me, I heard from Mr. G. F.-H. Berkeley of Banbury that in the family No. 8 was always regarded "as an amateur production either by some member of the family or a friend." Miss Beatrix Berkeley told me that her father had made a similar statement about it. I see no reason why No. 7 should not have hung originally in the Palace at Cloyne; and a talented amateur, as we know Mrs. Anne Berkeley to have been, might well have made this copy of it there; (see under No. 10).

No. 9. Oil painting, 29 in. high \times 24 in. wide, by James Latham (Lathem), rectangular frame with oval inset; in Fellows' Common Room, Trinity College, Dublin; seen by me often.

Bust, body turned half-right, head to the front, almost full face; pink complexion; grey wig, bands, episcopal robes. The latest extant contemporary portrait.

Purchased December 1865 for 20 guineas; "Agreed that a portrait of Bishop Berkeley stated to be authentic be purchased for the College for 20 guineas" (Register, 16 December 1865, vol. xii). Exhibited in the National Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington in 1867, and the exhibition label is still on

the back of the stretcher. On 24 October 1868 the Board consented that photographs of "the portrait . . ." (*i.e.* the Latham, for the Vanderbank was not acquired till 1870, and the Home would scarcely rank as a portrait) should be procured for the Delegates of the University Press, Oxford. Engravings from it were made by Brooks, *c.* 1745, for the *Universal Magazine*, *c.* 1776, by Meadows for Sharpe's Classics, 1804; (see below, p. 249).

Note.—James Latham, a native of Tipperary, practised as portrait painter in Dublin from about 1725 till his death 26 January 1747; he has been styled "the Irish Van Dyke." Berkeley was in Dublin for the last time, October 1737–May 1738.

POSTHUMOUS, RECORDED, AND DOUBTFUL PORTRAITS

No. 10. Painting by Mrs. Anne Berkeley, the Bishop's wife; particulars and whereabouts are not known; but see on No. 8.

On 3 July 1746 Berkeley wrote to Prior, "My wife with her compliments sends you a present by the Cork carrier who set out yesterday. It is an offering of the firstfruits of her painting. She began to draw in last November, and did not stick to it closely, but by way of amusement only at leisure hours. For my part I think she shows a most uncommon genius; but others may be supposed to judge more impartially than I." On this letter Stock (*Works*, vol. i, p. lxxxiv) has the note, "The Bishop's portrait, painted by Mrs. Berkeley, now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Archdall of Bolton Street, Dublin." Fraser says he could not trace the subsequent history of this portrait, and I must say the same thing, but I have tentatively advanced the suggestion that No. 8 *is* No. 10, *i.e.* a copy of No. 7 made by Mrs. Berkeley.

Prior lived in Bolton Street, Dublin; on his death in October 1751, his young relative and, it would seem, heir, the Rev. Mervyn Archdale or Archdall, looked after the estate and attended to Berkeley's Dublin business, as Prior had done. He kept in touch with the Berkeley family, and lent letters to George Monck Berkeley, the Bishop's grandson, *c.* 1780. He must have inherited the portrait from Prior, and it would have been quite natural for him to have left it back to the Berkeleys of the South of Ireland. His second wife (so a member of the family writes) "made away with all sorts of family papers, and the record of the portrait may have vanished about that time."

No. 11. "The third is in the Provost's House. It was painted in 1751, for his friend Dr. Palliser, the Vice-Provost, in whose family it long remained. It seems to be the latest, and is one of the most interesting portraits of Berkeley. A very good engraving has been taken from it."—Fraser, *ib.*

No portrait answering fully to this description is known to me; the mention of the engraving and the lateness point to No. 9, and Fraser does not mention No. 9 at all, unless No. 11 *be* No. 9. His statements about the date of painting and about Dr. Palliser are so explicit that I must list it in case the portrait is ever found; but in doing so I add the caution that of the three he places in Trinity College only his first (my No. 12) can be identified with certainty, and he has made two mistakes about it. Perhaps his notes became confused. There has been no portrait of Berkeley permanently in the Provost's House within living memory.

John Palliser, Fellow 1727, Prof. of Divinity 1746, Vice-Provost, rector of Ardstraw Jan. 1753, died 6 Jan. 1781.

No. 12. Oil painting, 109 in. high \times 69 in. wide, by Robert Home, *c.* 1783 ; in the Theatre (Examination Hall), Trinity College, Dublin ; seen by me often. Full length figure standing by table, on which are books and a paper ; table draped with a red cloth. Light from window falls on face and figure ; he holds quill pen in right hand and a book in left hand ; black wig (I think), but Fraser's "the hair flowing in dark waving lines over the shoulders" conveys the general effect at first sight ; bands, lawn sleeves, episcopal robes reaching to the feet ; theatrical pose.

One of a series of College worthies painted for the Theatre by Home between 1783 and 1788 ; it is said to have cost 35 guineas. The face has a recognizable resemblance to authentic portraits ; but in the main it is an imaginative work, the stage philosopher peering into infinity, not based on any known original. Fraser mistakenly says that it is "of uncertain history, the artist unknown."

No. 13. Oil painting, 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high \times 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, artist unknown ; No 895 in the National Gallery, Dublin ; seen by me often.

Seated in armchair, to knees ; body and head turned half-left ; right hand hangs down from arm of chair ; left hand has forefinger between pages of a book which rests against left knee ; high peaked cap on head partially covering left ear ; white bands and cravat ; brown gown or coat open at front showing black waistcoat ; on left a green curtain with tasselled cord ; the background of figure is greenish-grey bookcase or bookshelves, as in No. 7. The hands are very like those in No. 7 ; the face, nose, mouth, eyes very like those of the Dean in No. 4.

Purchased in 1927 from J. Crampton Walker of Dublin for £20.

ENGRAVINGS

Engravings have been made from the portraits numbered by me as 5, 6, and 9, and I shall group them accordingly and treat them in that order. I have seen a reproduction of the Cooke engraving, and originals of all the others named here except the Meadows.

After No. 5, the Lambeth portrait.

(a) T. Cooke (1744-1818), "Engraved from an original picture in the possession of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. London 1st August 1781. Published as the Act directs by J. Murray No. 32 Fleetstreet, and Wm Hall-head at Dublin." Reproduced as frontispiece of Stock's edition (1784) of the *Works* in an oval frame which cuts out background and shows right hand and part of the book ; frame rests on pedestal which supports a volume and bears the inscription : "GEORGE BERKELY, BISHOP of CLOYNE." Beneath, "T. Cooke Sculpsit." No painter's name.

(b) 9 in. \times 5.7 in., by S. Freeman (1773-1857), stipple ; omits hand and book ; two copies in National Library, Dublin ; plate in J. Wills, *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen*, 1847, vol. v.

(c) 6.8 in. \times 4.8 in., line ; holding book in right hand ; copy in National Library, Dublin.

(d) 3.1 in. \times 2.5 in., line and stipple ; holding book in right hand ; proof before letters ; copy in National Library, Dublin.

The catalogue, National Library, Dublin (Elmes), lists another engraving, 5.5 in. \times 4.3 in., line, half-length, long wig, and shows a copy inscribed, "The Revd Dr George Berkeley" ; it does not look to me like the Bishop ; it may be his son George.

After No. 6, a Vanderbank portrait.

Engraved by W. Skelton (1763-1848), published 30 March 1800; for description of portrait see under No. 6; beneath portrait, "Vanderbank Pinxt" (left corner), "Skelton Sculpt" (right corner); "THE RIGHT REVD GEORGE BERKELEY, S.T.P. LATE LORD BISHOP OF CLOYNE IN IRELAND"; in centre two coats of arms surmounted by mitres and linked by scroll, "Dieu avec nous"; "To Berkeley ev'ry virtue under Heav'n" Pope; Published March 30th 1800, for the Proprietor, by W. Skelton, Stafford Place, Pimlico.

Copies in British Museum, in Marsh's Library, Dublin, in the Palace, Cork (formerly Cloyne; proof, lacks Pope's line).

After No. 9, the Latham portrait.

(a) 14 in. x 10 in., mezzotint, by John Brooks; around oval frame above is inscribed: "DR GEORGE BERKELEY BISHOP OF CLOYNE"; on left flagstaff and flag; on right palm trees; frame rests on entablature inscribed "J. Latham—Pinx" (left) and "J. Brooks fecit" (right); mitre, crozier, bible, cherub blowing trumpet, the *Minute Philosopher* and *Siris*. At foot, "This plate is inscrib'd to his Lordship as a mark of gratitude by his Lordship's most obedient Servant John Brooks." These words are explained by T. Prior, *Authentick Narrative of the success of tar-water*, pp. 74-5, where is reported "the case of Mr John Brooks, engraver, living at the sign of Sir Isaac Newton's Head, on Cork Hill, Dublin"; the sickness began in November 1744; the cure was effected some weeks later; so the engraving cannot be earlier than 1745. Two fine copies in National Library, Dublin; copies in Board Room, Trinity College and in the Fellows' Common Room.

Reproduced B. Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, G. C. Mason, *Annals of the Redwood Library and Athenaeum*.

(b) 5.6 in. x 3.4 in., line; "Engraved for the Universal Magazine. Printed for J. Hinton at the King's Arms in Paternoster Row." Two copies in National Library, Dublin; copy in National Portrait Gallery, London. The engraving, which bears no name, was prefixed to a virtual reprint of Stock's *Life of Berkeley* (1776) which appeared in the *Universal Magazine*, December 1776, under the caption, "The Life of the celebrated George Berkeley D.D., late Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland with his portrait finely engraved from an original painting." It is not a very good likeness.

(c) By R. Meadows, in stipple, for Sharpe's Classics, 1804; see W. G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, sub Latham.

EFFIGY

Recumbent figure in white marble on alabaster altar tomb in Cloyne Cathedral; artist, A. Bruce Joy; erected 1880; reproduced Hone and Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley*, opposite p. 190.

MEDALLION

Mrs. Eliza Berkeley (Preface to Monck Berkeley's *Poems*, p. cxcv) mentions "a wonderfully fine ivory medallion, taken of Bishop Berkeley at Rome, when a young man." No other mention known to me.

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